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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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I.—AN 'INSPIRED MESSAGE' IN THE AUGUSTAN POETS.

THE APOLLO CULT, THE SIBYL AND THE IMPERIAL THEME.

The history of the Apollo cult in Italy has been so admirably summarized by Wissowa¹ that it needs but brief review. The date of the introduction of the cult is not known, but it must have been, as tradition claims, near the end of the regal period, undoubtedly before 496, the first certain consultation of the Sibylline books which led to the reception of Demeter, Dionysus and Core.² As the Sibyl and her oracles stood in the closest relation to Apollo,³ it must be supposed that the Sibylline books and the God arrived synchronously and that the other Greek cults were brought in at the order of the oracles. So since the traditional view that the Sibylline Books came from Cumae has never been disproved, undoubtedly the Apollo cult in Rome too came from Cumae and indeed the Roman State appears to have recognized that fact⁴ by having sacrifices and gifts made at the Cumae temple of Apollo on particular occasions.⁵ And inscriptional evidence⁶ shows the spread of the cult from Cumae not only through Campania and Lower Italy, but throughout Latium. There is no evidence about the time and

¹ R. K. pp. 73-8, 293-7.

² Dion. Hal. VI. 17, 3.

³ Tib. II. 5, 15; Cic. de div. I. 115; II. 113; Serv. Aen. III. 332.

⁴ Serv. Aen. VI. 9; Liv. XLIII. 13, 4; Stat. Silv. IV. 3, 115.

⁵ August. c. d. III. 11; Obseq. 28 (87) on A. U. C. 624=130 B. C.

⁶ See Wissowa, R. K. p. 294, note 4.

occasion of the entrance of the Apollo cult in Rome. Just as Demeter was brought into Rome at the time of a bad harvest, so Apollo may have been summoned after a pestilence, for he was worshipped in Rome first as a god of healing.¹ His oldest place of worship in Rome was the Apollinar on the Prata Flaminia² and here his first temple was dedicated in 431 after a pestilence,³ the only Apollo temple in Rome probably till the time of Augustus. The worship of Apollo here as in the later Palatine temple⁴ included Latona and Diana.

The Apollo cult like all other Greek cults had a special development at the time of the second Punic war; witness the establishment in 212 of the *Iudi Apollinares*.⁵ Moreover, as during this period the influence of the Sibylline oracles increased, Apollo too must have gained in prestige and power.

As to the history of the Sibylline oracles, Wissowa and Roscher⁶ have summarized and clarified the mass of traditional and controversial material. The debatable issues are not the subject of this paper, and we need only to review briefly certain high water-marks in the traditional history of the oracle before the time of Augustus, which are significant for us.

The origin of Sibyl worship lies shrouded in mystery. The name Sibyl is of doubtful etymology and the use of the word seems to have been first as an individual name, then as a generic term, as the legend of one prophetic woman gave way to stories of several (ten even named by Varro). Various places too claimed to be the birthplace of the Sibyl or places to which she had journeyed, and aetiological myths followed to explain the spread of the Sibyl cult. Significant for this paper is the fact that the oldest claim for the birthplace of the Sibyl seems to have come from Marpessus in the Troad and that the Sibyl of Marpessus is connected with the legends of the Trojan war, is said to have prophesied the destruction of Troy and is spoken of as the *γυνή γαμετή* of Apollo.⁷ The most famous of the Greek Sibyls,

¹ Quintil. inst. or. III. 7, 8; August. c. d. IV. 21; Liv. IV. 25, 3; XL. 51, 6.

² Liv. III. 63, 7.

³ Liv. IV. 25, 3; 29, 7.

⁴ Prop. II. 31, 15 f.

⁵ Liv. XXV. 12, 15.

⁶ Wissowa, R. K. pp. 536-543; Rosch. Lex. pp. 790-813.

⁷ Roscher p. 797; Paus. 10, 12, 2.

the Sibyl of Erythrae, seems to have supplanted the prestige of the Marpessian. Erythrae claimed that the Sibyl was born to a nymph in a cave on Mt. Corycus, that from her earliest years she had spoken in verse and in tender youth had been consecrated by her parents to the temple of Apollo, and there had given forth oracles.¹ With this Erythraean Sibyl, the Cumaean is identical according to Pseudo-Aristoteles,² and apparently the Cumaean oracles did come from Erythrae.³ Against the old legend of the Erythraean Sibyl's wandering to Cumae, local patriotism, however, claimed that the Cumaean Sibyl was born there and her name was Demo. But the oracles were Greek and were under the protection of the Greek Apollo.

The coming of the Cumaean Sibyl to Rome was associated in the old saga inevitably with the Tarquins,⁴ and the picturesque details of the sale of the books helped to fix the association of the oracles with that foreign dynasty of monarchs.⁵ A further connection between these rulers and Cumae is made by the tradition that Tarquinius Superbus took refuge at Cumae after his expulsion from Rome.⁶ Warde Fowler thinks that it may have been due to the great Etruscan disturbances of the period that Rome came to make trial of the Sibylline utterances.⁷ Certainly the names of Cumae and the Sibyl were most intimately associated in Rome with the Tarquin kings.

The time when these oracular sayings were gathered and deposited in the coffers of the Capitoline temple is uncertain. They were burned in 83;⁸ and later (76) were replaced in the rebuilt capitol by a new collection, gathered by a commission sent by the state to all places famous for the activity of Sibyls.⁹ In the 1000 verses thus gathered, forgeries were introduced, made with particular political references.¹⁰

¹ Paus. 10, 12, 2; Hermias on Plato, Phaedrus 244; Eus. or. ad sanctos, 18.

² De mirab. ausc. 838 a 8 sq.

³ Martianus Capella de nupt. phil. 3, 44, 19.

⁴ Varro in Lactantius, inst. I. 6.

⁵ Serv. Aen. VI. 72; Cass. Dio. fr. 10, 8; Plin. n. h. XIII. 88; Diels 80 f.

⁶ Varro ant. rer. div. B. IV.; Gell. I. 19; Lyd. de mens. IV. 47.

⁷ Relig. Exper. of the Roman People, p. 258.

⁸ Dion. Hal. IV. 62, 6; Cass. Dio. fr. 102, 2.

⁹ Varro and Fenestella in Lact. inst. I. 6; de ira dei 22, 6; Dion. Hal. IV. 62, 6; Tac. ann. VI. 12.

¹⁰ Wissowa, R. K., p. 537, note 4.

The care of the books had been entrusted first to *duoviri sacris faciundis*, who in 367 B. C. gave way to decemviri.¹ Still later the number of these priests was increased to fifteen² and the board became one of tremendous prestige. No unauthorized person was allowed to approach the oracles³ and a decree of the senate was necessary before the quindecimviri consulted them.⁴

The customary Roman use of the books was under the pressure of *religio* at the time of some national crisis (rain of stone, pestilence, disaster or war, earthquakes, famines, abortions), to restore the *pax deum*. As measures of relief, the Sibylline books ordered the introduction of various Greek gods, the establishment of festivals, *lectisternia*, *supplicationes*, sacrifices, processions. Since however, the oracles, to prove their reliability, at times referred to events in the past and even pointed to complications and solutions arising in the future, great opportunity was given for the ingenuity and discretion of the quindecimviri in the interpretation of references in the pure old Sibylline sayings which were not aimed at Roman conditions. The possibility of manipulation of the oracles was aided by the language, which shared the obscurity and double meaning of all oracular poetry, and by the acrostic form (the first line of the saying determining the first letters of all the verses).⁵ So even if fictitious sayings were not introduced for specific purposes, still warnings, commands and prophecies which served as weapons to political parties could be constructed out of the sacred mandates, and the oracles were thus manipulated. For example, Cornelius Lentulus, the confederate of Catiline, circulated a Sibylline oracle according to which three Cornelii would be called to power.⁶ In 57, an oracle was made known that danger threatened Rome unless a banished Egyptian king should be restored to power by force.⁷ Familiar also is the oracle inspired by Caesar or his friends that the Parthians could be conquered only by a king and that the one who was actually king should also assume the title.⁸

¹ Liv. VI. 37, 12; 42, 2.

² Wiss. R. K., p. 535, n. 2.

³ Cic. de leg. II. 30; Lact. inst. I. 6, 13.

⁴ Cic. de div. II. 112; Dion. Hal. IV. 62, 5.

⁵ Cic. de div. 2, 54.

⁶ Sall. Cat. 47.

⁷ Cass. Dio. 39, 15.

⁸ Cic. de div. 2, 54.

Leaving this political use of the oracles, we must remember what Carter, Warde Fowler and others have clearly traced that the so-called coming of the Sibyl to Rome by various steps was gradually revolutionizing the national religion, establishing the Graecus ritus and giving more and more prestige to the Greek Gods. The culmination of the work of the oracle and its god came in the Augustan age.

The religious policies of Octavius seem as deep-laid and deliberate as his political and most subtly interwoven with them. Wissowa has pointed out the steps¹ by which the Emperor advanced to the headship of the Roman religion and has shown some significant features in its Augustan renaissance, how the Emperor made himself one of the Pontifices, the Augurs and the quindecimviri; how he revived the function of the Fetialis in his declaration of war on Cleopatra; how he organized the Sodales Titii and the Fratres Arvales, received from the Senate the right of nomination for the priesthoods and establishment of their numbers; restored 82 temples of the gods; revived old religious ceremonies. But all this activity (as Wissowa shows) was but in preparation for a deeper reorganization which purposed the rejuvenation of the Roman religion by finally establishing the sovereignty of the Graecus ritus and giving more and more prominence to the worship of the Greek Apollo.

Augustus did not become Pontifex Maximus till 12 B. C., but much earlier he was one of the quindecimviri and so connected with the cult of Apollo and the care of the Sibylline books when, in 28 B. C., he dedicated on the Palatine the temple to Apollo in thanks for the help given by him at the battle of Actium which was fought near a shrine of the god. Although the Palatine temple was *in solo privato* and was not an *aedes publica*, still Apollo as the patron god of the Emperor gained more and more prestige as the monarchy grew more deeply rooted and at last did not yield precedence among the state gods even to Jupiter himself.

Certain steps by which this strengthening of the Apollo worship was achieved are familiar. The Ludi Saeculares were celebrated by the manipulation of a Sibylline oracle and the assistance of the loyal jurist Ateius Capito. Apollo and Diana

¹R. K., pp. 73-8.

were given a new prominence in the festival and the Palatine temple was made the centre of the celebration. And at another time (the date is uncertain) Augustus had the courage of his desires and transferred the Sibylline books from the care of Jupiter Capitolinus to Palatine Apollo¹ "und [erhob] dadurch den letzteren zum Mittelpunkt wenigstens des ganzen unter Leitung der Quindecimviri stehenden Staatskultes nach griechischem Ritus." The fact that in 12 B. C. Augustus became head of the state religion as Pontifex Maximus on the death of Lepidus was of small relative importance in comparison to the series of steps by which his will had already dominated the control of the state religion. It was not without deliberate policy, as I think, that in 27 he allowed the title *Augustus* to be conferred upon him in preference to any other, with its religious connotation and its suggestion of divine origin.

What are the probable motives which led the Emperor to make Apollo his patron god and to extend his worship? First perhaps because the worship of Veiovis, the old Roman god of the lower world, had been a family cult in the Julian gens² and Apollo came to be identified with him, in his function of a god of death, and possibly too because the goat was sacred to both gods.³ Then the site of the victory at Actium, under the shadow as it were of Apollo's temple, would inevitably affect a Roman mind trained in formal religious beliefs, which even when highly educated must have retained traces of inculcated *religio*. Moreover, the character of Apollo as god of healing on the one side, the Sun-god too (as he came more and more to be regarded), and as god of the arts must have appealed to an Emperor who worked for beneficial reconstruction of the war-torn Roman world and for the encouragement of the arts after⁴ the doors of the temple of Janus were closed. But more than this, the astute emperor (quindecimvir also) knew the enormous prestige of the Sibylline books and the support to be gained from them and the god who presided over them. I am inclined to think that the Emperor may have encouraged the quiet circulation of those legends that grew up: that he himself

¹ Wissowa, p. 76; Suet. Aug. 31; Verg. Aen. VI. 69 f.; Tib. II. 5, 17 f.

² CIL. XIV, 2387.

³ Liv. XXV. 12, 13; Macr. S. I. 17, 29; Sib. Orac. in Phlegon, mirab. 10, cf. Diels, Sib. Bl. p. 50.

⁴ Hor. C. III. 4, 37-40.

was indeed the son of Apollo; that the god had been present in person at Actium to defeat Octavius' enemies; and that he not only let himself be represented in art with the emblems of the Actian Apollo but that he encouraged the poets of the age to identify him with his patron god. Certainly I think I can point out in the Augustan poetry what I may call "an inspired message" (possibly coming directly from the Emperor, perhaps through Maecenas) which sought to emphasize the Apollo cult and the prestige of the Sibylline oracles; to disassociate the Sibyl from the Tarquins and associate her in the popular imagination with Aeneas, the Julian gens and Augustus; and often to identify Augustus with Apollo, and to interweave the exaltation of Apollo-worship with the Imperial theme.

Let us ask then, first, how Vergil shapes this "inspired message." To answer that question, one has to approach first the fourth Eclogue, with all its unsettled problems. Fortified by Conway, Nettleship, Warde Fowler, Skutsch and others, I venture to affirm with Cartault¹ that in this poem Vergil is first voicing the theme which was brilliantly expanded in the Aeneid:

Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet
Saecula qui rursus Latium regnata per arva
Saturno quondam.²

I am convinced, for simple reasons, that the poem is in honor of Octavius and so refers to his unborn child. Tradition says that Vergil owed his farm to the Emperor, and the language of Ec. I, 40-5, refers to him as a *praesens divus*. Vague as the language of Ec. 4 is, it suits better the child of the Julian gens than Pollio's living sons or Octavia's unborn child, especially 15-17. The expression in l. 15, *ille deum vitam accipiet* is similar to Ec. I, 41, which describes Octavius; line 17

pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem

can hardly refer to anything but the welcome Treaty of Brundisium, made in this year; and as Skutsch points out (paraphrasing Marx): "Wenn Octavian damals ein Kind erwartete, so konnte weder der Dichter noch seine Leser im Jahre 40 ein

¹ Étude sur les Bucoliques de Virgile, p. 215.

² Aen. VI. 792-4.

Gedicht, das einen Götterspross feiert, der als Mensch geboren die goldene Zeit wieder heraufführen und schliesslich zu den Göttern eingehen soll, anders verstehen als von dem Kinde, das Octavians Gattin unter dem Herzen trug." ¹

Small points of verbal confirmation of this view are that l. 48 is similar to the address to Augustus in Georg. I. 42, and that Horace in the C. S., as I hope to show, echoes the language of this Eclogue in his record of prophecy fulfilled in the Augustan Age. Then lines 35-36 may naturally point to the menace of the East which Octavius was facing (the old Parthian horror) and the last line may suggest not only the Emperor as one who should enjoy the company of the gods ² but with its "dea nec dignata cubili est" may vaguely point to that ancestor of the Julian gens who was deemed worthy to share Venus' couch.

Still more significant, viewed in the light of Vergil's later poetry, are lines 4-10, for the Aeneid was to associate forever the Cumaean Sibyl and her oracles with the Trojan ancestors of the Julian gens and the founding of Rome, and this passage seems, as Servius took it, to connect vaguely a Sibylline oracle and the Augustan Age. And the identification of Apollo in l. 10 with Augustus by Servius, "quidam hoc loco

'casta fave Lucina, tuus iam regnat Apollo'

Octaviam sororem Augusti significari adfirmant ipsumque Augustum Apollinem," helps to clinch the interpretation of the *puer* as the child of Augustus.

In Eclogue 4, we may then find a mystic, symbolic prophecy, arising out of gratitude to the Emperor, which identifies as though by inspiration the golden age of a Sibylline oracle with the new regime and which perhaps forecasts vaguely the thought that Horace was later to express in no dubious language that Augustus was Apollo on earth. But, of course, we are reading the fourth Eclogue now in the light of Augustus' subsequent career and of the Aeneid; and so may force the interpretation. At least, though, we may say that here perhaps was struck the fortunate theme which Vergil later expanded in the Aeneid.

¹ Aus Vergils Frühzeit, p. 157.

² Cf. Hor. C. III. 3, 11-2.

Vergil himself recorded for us what the great motif of the Aeneid was to be, for in Georg. III. 1-48 in rapt, symbolic prophecy he promises that in due time he will sing a new theme; he will bring the Aonian Muses to Italy; he will erect a temple near his own Mantua and the Mincius in the center of which shall be Augustus Caesar; on its doors shall be wrought Octavian's conquests; and statues shall stand there (*spirantia signa*) of the Emperor's mythical ancestors and of Apollo (Troiae Cynthus auctor); this shrine will be no pastoral song, but epic (46-48):

Mox tamen ardentis accingar dicere pugnas
Caesaris, et nomen fama tot ferre per annos,
Tithoni prima quot abest ab origine Caesar.

The imperial theme and Augustus' patron god are already in Vergil's mind for his epic.

It is not my purpose here to review Vergil's sources for the Aeneas Saga, or for the particular feature of the visit to the Cumaean Sibyl. But I hope to show that there runs through the Epic as a clear motif the great part Apollo had in the founding of Rome and the Sibyl's help to his work, and that this motif is so closely connected with the imperial theme that it bears the stamp of an "inspired message."

Apollo, according to Heinze,¹ is not mentioned in the pre-Vergil tradition of Aeneas' wanderings nor in the later ones independent of Vergil: he works in the journeyings of the Trojans only indirectly as far as the Sibyl is his prophet. Cauer² thinks that Aeneas' visit to the Cumaean Sibyl may have been taken from Naevius and recalls that Greek sources mention a visit to a Sibyl,³ only not the Cumaean, but the Erythraean. At any rate, the Tarquin connection with the Sibyl's effect on the fortunes of Rome pales before the tremendous appeal to the imagination made by the Aeneid narrative of the visit to Apollo's temple and the rapt prophecy of the Sibyl. If Augustus had any desire to remove a possible stigma attaching to the Sibylline oracles from their connection with the Tarquin kings and from that political manipulation which made them urge Julius Caesar to accept the kingship, he could have found no

¹ Virg. ep. Tech. p. 83.

² Die römische Aeneassage von Naevius bis Vergilius, p. 171.

³ Dion. I. 42, f.

better means than this brilliant picture of the real 'coming of the Sibyl' to Rome with the progenitors of the Julian line.

A tradition mentioned by Varro¹ said that Venus had led the Trojan expedition by her star. Vergil, as Heinze points out,² puts this aside and makes Apollo, in his familiar Greek rôle of Archegetes, the central, guiding spirit. And Heinze thinks too that the impulse to this emphasis on the service rendered by Apollo may have been given by Augustus' predilection for this chief god of the Julian gens.

Certainly, in the Aeneid, strong emphasis is placed on the prophecies which guided Aeneas towards the destined city and all these are put in the mouth of Apollo or his ministers. At Delos, Apollo warned the Trojans to seek their "ancient mother" (Aen. III. 79-101) and, when this was misunderstood, again Apollo through the Phrygian Penates tells them that not in Crete but in Italy are their *propriae sedes* (Aen. III. 143-178). Again at the Strophades the harpy Celaeno voices Apollo's prophecies about the difficulties before them. Helenus, the priest of Phoebus, tells them of long wandering ahead, but reassures them with the word, *fata viam invenient aderitque vocatus Apollo* (Aen. III. 369-462). The sixth book is largely an exaltation of Apollo's final work for the destinies of Rome as Aeneas makes his appeal and vows to the god, receives the promises of the Sibyl, and by her is conducted to the lower world and given the vision of Rome's future greatness. There is the heart of the Aeneid, and it is of but minor importance that Apollo himself appears later to Ascanius to prophesy the glory of the Trojans (Aen. IX. 638-658).

Yet the full bearing of the emphasis on the prophetic element (far greater than in the Iliad) might not be understood were it not for two significant passages which mark its connection with the Imperial Theme. The first is in Aen. VI. ll. 69-74. Here Vergil puts in Aeneas' mouth a prophecy of the Palatine temple to Apollo, the Ludi Saeculares,³ and probably too the transfer of the Sibylline books from the care of Jupiter Cap-

¹ Serv. on II. 801.

² Virg. ep. Tech. pp. 83-4.

³ I agree with Norden, Aeneis Buch VI, p. 142, that the festival established by Augustus is meant, rather than the Ludi Apollinares established in 212.

itolinus to Apollo's temple in 28 or 12 B. C.,¹ and the power of the quindecimviri. All these are the actual steps by which Augustus gradually made his patron god the real centre of the Roman religion, and, standing as they do almost at the beginning of the sixth book, they bestow at once the prestige of its exaltation of Apollo and Sibyl worship on Augustus' work.

The other passage that helps interpret Apollo's part in the Aeneid is in Book VIII ll. 675-728. On Aeneas' shield, little trace of the Homeric source remains, for the theme is

res Italas Romanorumque triumphos

and as scene after scene in the history of the establishment of Roman dominion is mentioned the climax comes in the picture of the battle of Actium with first Augustus, then Apollo determining the victory.² And in the last scene, the triumph of the two together is celebrated as Augustus, seated on the white threshold of the Palatine temple (almost as if the god himself), reviews the triumphal procession while the captive peoples pass before him with the spoils.

That is a fitting picture of what the Aeneid did for Augustus (with or without his suggestion). It presented forever to the popular imagination his political rule as under the protecting power of the great Sun-god. It also made clear the connection of the Julian gens with Phoebus, and prepared the way for the transfer of the Sibylline books to Apollo's care by showing that

¹ "Die enge Verknüpfung der Sibylle mit Apollo wurde von Augustus auch äusserlich dadurch hergestellt, dass er die bisher im capitolinischen Jupiter-tempel aufbewahrten sibyllinischen Bücher nach Einweihung des Apollo-tempels (9. Oct. 28) unter der Basis der Apollostatue deponieren liess (Suet. Aug. 31 vergl. Tibull. II 5): das sind die 71 genannten *magna penetralia* (Übersetzung von μέγαρα). Denn mag auch die Deposition selbst erst von Augustus als Oberpontifex vollzogen worden sein (Sueton. 1. c.), so haben wir doch, wie in analogen Fällen (vergl. Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Altert. VII 1901, 276) das Recht, den Plan als solchen zurück-zudatieren, um so mehr als schon Tibull. II 5, 17 die sibyllinischen Bücher in engster Verbindung mit dem neuen Apollo-tempel nennt. Die ganze Partie bietet mithin besonders deutliche Beispiele für die in der Aeneis typischen Projektionen der Vergangenheit in die Gegenwart."—Norden, p. 142.

² 677-681, 704-6. Consult Conington's note, III², p. 155, l. 704, to see how little he appreciated the significance of Apollo's presence.

the Sibyl as Apollo's servant shared his work in the founding of Rome.¹

The way in which the Apollo theme works out in Horace is as different from Vergil's use of it as would be expected from the character of his poetry. There are two early, semi-satirical references to the god, one in satire I. 9 where, after the episode with the bore, Horace, in imitation of Lucilius and of Homer, attributes his rescue to the god,

sic me servavit Apollo;²

and the other a humorous reference to the double meanings of Apollo's oracles.³ There are also numerous insignificant references to Apollo as god of prophecy, as god of music and the lyre, and as the god of the bow. More interesting to us are the references to Palatine temple and library. In C. I. 31, Horace makes libation to Apollo on the dedication of his temple and prays for mind unimpaired and lyre ever tuneful from the god of healing and music. In Ep. I. 3, 16-17, the poet admonishes a young writer against imitation saying

tangere vitet
scripta Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo

and the scholiast (Ps.-Acro) has an interesting comment suggesting that by Apollo Caesar is meant:

Caesar in bibliotheca statuam sibi posuerat habitu ac statu Apollinis. Sensus autem: nunc contingat scripta Celsus ea, quae Caesar in auctoritatem recepit.

Ep. 2, 1, 214-8 hints at the poets' ambition to get their works into the Palatine library, and Ep. II. 2, 92-4 apparently satirizes Propertius' desire to secure that recognition for himself and may be a fling at his elaborate description of the Apollo temple (Prop. II. 31). For Horace himself has stitched on his poems no purple patches of elaborate descriptions of temple or porticus to gratify the Emperor.

¹ For a presentation of similar points in regard to Vergil's use of the Apollo-Augustus theme, see R. W. Raper, "Marones: Virgil as Priest of Apollo," *Class. Rev.* 1913, pp. 13-21, and discussion by W. Warde Fowler, *ibid.* 85-7, and Raper, *ibid.* 148-51.

² Sat. I. 9, 78.

³ Sat. II. 5, 58-60.

Horace has, however, made free use of a subject no less gratifying and more adapted to his lyrics, namely Apollo and the imperial theme, and this even Vergil did not sing more clearly. The first great imperial ode (I. 2) after reviewing the portents following the death of Julius Caesar asks

Quem vocet divum populus ruentis
imperi rebus?

and the first god summoned is the

nube candentis umeros amictus,
augur Apollo.

After Venus, Mars and Mercury are also invoked, the poem ends with the praise of the god on earth who celebrates great triumphs (a glance at Actium surely) and who is the leader of his people. In this ode, there is no closer connection between Apollo and Caesar than this outline indicates.

In I. 12, another great imperial ode, there is a somewhat closer parallelism, for on answering the question of lines 1-3

Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
tibia sumis celebrare, Clio,
quem deum?

Horace names last among the protecting deities

metuende certa
Phoebe sagitta,

and last in the great line of Roman heroes Caesar who is to reign with justice over the broad world. In C. III. 4, the battle of gods and giants gives an impressive symbolic representation of the struggle between Augustus and the forces of disorder in the realm, and at the end of the mythological picture with its discords of battle comes the beautiful, static vignette of Augustus' patron god (ll. 60-64). Then the moral follows:

Vis consili expers mole ruit sua:
vim temperatam di quoque provehunt
in maius.

The thought goes back to Augustus' triumphs and his later peace-policy (ll. 37-40) and the reader feels that Apollo as well as the Muses have given him gentle counsel and substantial aid.

Later in the last ode of Book IV, it is Phoebus who crashes a rebuke at Horace as he starts to sing of battles and cities conquered, and who directs the poet to the beneficent peace of Augustus' sway. The ode begins with the name *Phoebus* and ends with

Troiamque et Anchisen et almae
progeniem Veneris canemus,

and so in its short compass has perhaps a vague echo of the Aeneid motif,—Apollo's aid of the Julian gens.

Two odes are virtually hymns in praise of Apollo. C. I. 21, the beautiful prayer for aid to Diana and Apollo, ends with a stanza of confidence that Apollo, moved by the song, will avert war and famine and illness from the Roman people and their leader, Caesar. C. IV. 6, a sort of prelude to the C. S., addresses Apollo first as a god of victory and then as the god of bards, to whom Horace owes his inspiration and his art. Then the boys and girls who are to render the C. S. at the Ludi Saeculares are given directions which are significant for our interpretation of that song:

Lesbium servate pedem meique
pollicis ictum,

rite Latonae puerum canentes,
rite crescentem face Noctilucam.

That is, Horace himself tells us that the central figures of the C. S. are Diana and Apollo.

Now if the C. S. is read with this prelude in mind and also all Vergil's use of the Apollo-Augustus theme, I think the disputed point about the reference in *vestrum*, l. 37, is illuminated. Commentators have generally noted that ll. 37-44 probably took their theme from the Aeneid which had recently been published. But granted that, the *vestrum* in sense as well as in grammatical reference must mean Apollo and Diana, for Apollo certainly is the god to whom the Aeneid attributed the greatest aid in the founding of Rome. Then the emphasis on *Iliae* naturally follows the reference to Apollo's aid, which had been given to the Julian gens from the fall of Troy down to Augustus himself, as the Emperor would have the world believe. The association of Diana with Apollo in this work is the natural outcome of her association with her brother in the cult worship as in the Palatine temple.

With this interpretation of *vestrum* virtually the whole *carmen* becomes the *laudes* *Phoebi* *et Dianae* which the last two lines of it and of C. I. 21 demand and the last stanza summons Jupiter and all the gods to bless the work of Apollo and Diana for the state. Whether the Sibylline books had already been transferred from the care of Jupiter to that of Apollo (28 B. C.) or were to be later (12 B. C.) so transferred, here in the C. S., to my mind, Apollo takes precedence over Jupiter and all the gods.

To support this interpretation of *vestrum* in the light of the Aeneid, let me digress for a moment to say that it has occurred to me that Horace, selected to write this official hymn soon after Vergil's death and believing perhaps that Vergil, had he been alive, would have received this honor, chose to compose the Carmen Saeculare in Vergil's spirit. For me it echoes not only the Aeneid (its theme in 37-44, the very words of Aen. VI. 853 in ll. 51-2) but also the language of the fourth Eclogue. The Sibyl's hand is felt in both poems. Phoebus, as the *alme sol* of C. S. 9, reminds us of the scholiast's interpretation of Ec. 4, 9-10. Lucina-Diana is appealed to in both poems in her function of Ilithyia.¹ A prayer for offspring for the whole Roman race takes the place of prophecy for one marvellous child. The Parcae establish such ages as the Augustan for the Roman world.² Earth's gifts are invoked briefly by Horace and prophesied elaborately by Vergil but the gifts are the same, rich crops, fruitful herds.³ And to both poets, it is a time when *neglecta Virtus*, the *virgo*, dares to return to the earth.⁴ This resemblance to Vergil seems to me more than chance coincidence.

However that may be, certainly like Vergil, Horace in his poems voiced a message of Apollo's help to the Julian gens, of the fit prominence of his cult in Rome, of his peculiar care of the Emperor, and his close association, if not identification, with Augustus.⁵

¹ C. S. 13-6; Ec. 4, 8-10.

² C. S. 29-32; Ec. 4, 18-30, 37-45.

³ C. S. 25-8; Ec. 4, 46-7.

⁴ C. S. 58-59; Ec. 4, 6.

⁵ D'Alton, in "Horace and His Age", while summarizing well the prominence given to the Apollo cult by Augustus, fails to interpret adequately Horace's relation to the Emperor's efforts. See pp. 63-7, 74-5, 109-110.

Let us ask next whether Tibullus uses any of these themes. We will exclude two poems in the collection of Tibulliana: III. 4, in which Apollo in a vision encourages an unhappy lover to win his cruel mistress, and IV. 4 where Phoebus is invoked to heal a sick maiden; since it is generally accepted that Tibullus did not write these poems and the use of Phoebus in them is not significant for our study. Neither is the picture of the god in II. 3, where the myth of Apollo feeding the flocks of Admetus is charmingly told to illustrate the power of love. But the one national poem which Tibullus wrote, II. 5, must be studied.

The occasion of the poem, the entrance of Messalinus into the college of the quindecimvirs, gave ample opportunity for the expansion of the Apollo-Augustus theme, and since the significance of the elegy for us is in the use of that theme, we may disregard as irrelevant the various controversial questions arising from the poem, namely:

I. Do lines 1 and 17 determine that the Sibylline books were transferred to Apollo's temple before Augustus became Pontifex Maximus 12 B. C.¹?

II. What Sibyl gives the prophecy, the Cumaean, or a Trojan?²

III. Are lines 67 ff. to be deleted, or not?

IV. What is the date of the poem and did Tibullus know the Aeneid before he wrote it?

Important as all these questions are, they do not affect the point to which I wish to call attention: that Tibullus' one national poem celebrates the Apollo-Sibyl-Augustus theme.

And just how does the elegy use this motif? It begins and ends with Phoebus. It summons the god to come with the laurel of victory on his brow, and to assume once more the garb of Citharoedus, in order to sing "new praises." That is, he is invoked in the familiar aspect of the Actian Apollo statue in the Palatine temple.³ Gentle he is to be now and to plunge the dire prodigies of Actium under the unconquered ocean. The Sibyl who is his servant has not deceived the Romans. She gave to Aeneas the prophecy of the founding of the eternal city on the seven hills. Other prophecies of Sibyls foretold

¹ Suet. Aug. 31.

² Maass, *Hermes* XVIII (1883), pp. 322-339.

³ Postgate, *J. P.* XXV (1897), pp. 55-7.

the disasters of the civil war and these have all been fulfilled. But now Apollo surely will give good omens of an age of peace. And then the elegiac Tibullus is off in an exquisite idyl of peaceful country life, and from there he runs to a hint of the sorrows of love even in peace of land, and then he returns to Messalinus and his future, and invokes once more the blessing of Phoebus on him.

Even such a brief paraphrase of the treatment can hardly fail to show those familiar with the poem that if Tibullus had not read the Aeneid before the composition of II. 5, and been strongly influenced by the connection of the Sibyl with Aeneas, the Julian gens and Augustus, then Tibullus and Vergil were both carrying out independently the same line of thought and in a way so similar that an "inspired message" is suggested.

Propertius shows in his poems one consistent use of the Apollo-Augustus theme, worked out in devious variations,—namely, the Actium-motif. The most famous, though the least obvious, use of this theme is II. 31, the description of the Palatine temple of Apollo, or the opening of a porticus. The first two lines connect the names of Phoebus and Caesar and although the battle of Actium is not mentioned, the poem itself gives a detailed description of the monument erected by the Emperor as a thank-offering to the god who gave the victory. And the Emperor must have been delighted with the poetic praise of the temple's brilliant marble, its golden colonnade, its Punic columns, the statues of the Danaids, the chariots of the Sun-god, the ivory doors with their stories of the defeat of Brennus and the death of Niobe's children, the statues of Apollo Citharoedus, his mother and sister, and the four victims about the altar, so marvellously wrought by Myron's hand.

Another type of variation on the Actium theme is the palinode. In III. 3, Propertius used this *recusatio* to explain his writing on love instead of national themes and makes Phoebus responsible for turning his little chariot into smooth fields. Actium and Octavius are not mentioned here, but Phoebus' protection of a grand theme against slight talent connects this palinode with the one in IV, where Propertius essays to sing of the battle of Actium and is checked by the same god. The two poems are also connected by similar phrases: Propertius

is not afraid of rivalling Ennius¹ now, and now his foaming steed will press on to the goal of the imperial theme.² The poem IV. 1 begins its praise of maxima Roma with vivid contrasts of the little town founded by Phrygian Aeneas and the Rome of Augustus symbolized by the golden temple on the Palatine sacred to Phoebus Navalis. That is, the first four lines give as word-motifs—for a theme like that of the Aeneid,—maxima Roma, Phrygem Aenean, Navali Phoebos, sacra Palatia, and the poem goes on to say that the glory of Rome dates from that day when filial Aeneas started from burning Troy and Venus bore hither her Caesar's weapons; the Cumaean Sibyl and the prophet at Troy gave true prophecies.

Then as the poet exults in his national theme, he is told by a Babylonian seer that Apollo is estranged and that the god of poetry had granted him a smaller strain

et vetat insano verba tonare Foro.

That is, the poem from 71 on takes the palinode form.

Two minor points of interpretation may be noted: that Propertius seems to be following Vergil's lead in the various features of this national poem (the Aeneas legend, the Cumaean Sibyl, the Actium victory),³ and that the allusion to the Sibyl and the *vatis* may show knowledge of the two different traditions one of which connected Aeneas with the Sibyl of Cumae,—the other with the Sibyl of Marpessus in the Troad,⁴ for it seems to me as probable that the *vatis* of 51 refers to her as to Cassandra.

The slight connection with Actium in the first two types of poem pales before the elaborate development of the themes, III. 11 and IV. 6. In III. 11, every horror that Rome feared from Cleopatra is voiced (29-46) and then the relief of victory is expressed in thanks to Augustus. Next the theme is handed over to the god of Actium:

Leucadius versas acies memorabit Apollo.
tantum operis belli sustulit una dies.

¹ III. 3, 5-6; IV. 1, 61-4.

² III. 3, 18; IV. 1, 69-70.

³ Cp. also Prop. III. 11, 41 with Aen. VIII. 698-9; Prop. III. 11, 51 and Aen. VIII. 710, etc.

⁴ 49-54. In 50 I take *Remo* as dat. with *pianda* not with *dixit* as Butler does.

And at the end every sailor on the Ionian sea is told to remember that he owes the freedom of the sea to Caesar.

Most brilliant of all descriptions of the battle of Actium is that in IV. 6 and nowhere in the Augustan poetry is the significance of the theme more clearly stated (11-14):

Musa, Palatini referemus Apollinis aedem:
res est, Calliope, digna favore tuo.
Caesaris in nomen ducuntur carmina: Caesar
dum canitur, quaeso, Iuppiter ipse vaces.

Propertius strikes even more daringly the note which Horace sounded at the end of the C. S.: Jupiter himself is to give ear to the Apollo-Caesar theme. Lines 14-68 picture the battle, fought near Phoebus' shrine, and as the dark comes, Phoebus in flashing armour standing over the ship of Augustus utters magnificent exhortation with lines that the world writes large to-day (51-2):

frangit et attollit vires in milite causa;
quae nisi iusta subest, excutit arma pudor.

Then the god hurled his shafts and Caesar's spear followed his arrow. *Vincit Roma fide Phoebi*—the star and voice of Julius Caesar rain approval from the sky. And Cleopatra flees amidst the exulting blast of Triton's horn and the plaudits of all the sea goddesses for the standards of liberty. Then the strain drops to the monument of the victory,

Actius hinc traxit Phoebus monumenta. . . .

Apollo Citharoedus appears. The *ludi quinquennales* in honor of Actium are celebrated and future victories are prophesied for the Emperor.

Apart from the probable date of the poem (16 B. C.) internal evidence suggests that Propertius must have known Vergil's picture of Actium on Aeneas' shield from the parallelism of certain lines. In the Aeneid (VIII. 678-80) Augustus is pictured standing on the prow of his ship; in Prop. (27-30) the emphasis is placed on Phoebus standing above the prow of Augustus. In the Aen. (VIII. 681) the star of Julius shines above the head of Augustus; in Prop. (59-60) the father looks down from the star and speaks to Augustus. In the Aen. (VIII. 704 ff.) Apollo's arrows turn the tide of battle and so in Prop. 55-58.

If further suggestion were needed of Propertius' knowledge of Vergil's use of this theme, and his debt to him, we might quote II. 34, 61-66¹:

Actia Vergilium custodis litora Phoebi,
Caesaris et fortis dicere posse ratis,
qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitât arma
iactaque Lavinis moenia litoribus.

We have further proof that not only was Propertius following Vergil in his use of the Apollo-Augustus theme, but that for him at least among the Augustan poets the message was an "inspired" one, for in III. 9 he asks Maecenas why he urges him to launch his tiny boat on the vast sea of the imperial theme; reminds his patron that in his own poetry he is but following Maecenas' rule of life:

parcis et in tenuis humilem te colligis umbras:
velorum plenos subtrahis ipse sinus;

and says that if Maecenas will set him an example, he will sing of great themes:

crescet et ingenium sub tua iussa meum!

Then his theme will be Rome's history. Part of that must be the Palatine hill and the last theme mentioned glances at Actium,

Antonique gravis in sua fata manus.

Ovid is in line with the other poets of the age in what we may now almost call a conventional use of the Apollo-Augustus theme. Of course, the very nature of the *Metamorphoses* demanded wide use of the many myths connected with Apollo, but these need not be enumerated. The *Metamorphoses* shows also references to the story of Aeneas which suggest Vergil's influence: prophecies given him of the founding of Rome; the ending on the imperial theme. In XIII. 623 ff., begins the story of how at Delos Aeneas under the guidance of Anius, the priest, consulted the oracle of Apollo and received direction to seek his ancient mother. In *Met.* XIV. 101-153, the story of the visit to the Cumæan Sibyl is fully outlined: her assurances

¹ On the genuineness of the passage, see Plessis, *Études critiques sur Properce et ses élégies*, pp. 154 ff.

to Aeneas; the plucking of the golden bough; her safe conduct to the lower world. Aeneas at the end pays tribute to her great power and promises to her a temple (Does this mean a share in the Palatine?).

'Seu dea tu praesens, seu dis gratissima,' dixit
'Numinis instar eris semper mihi; meque fatebor
Muneris esse tui, quae me loca mortis adire,
Quae loca me visae voluisti evadere mortis.
Pro quibus aërias meritis evectus ad auras
Templa tibi statuum, tribuam tibi turis honorem.'¹

The Sibyl then tells her own history (a story not in the Aeneid) and of Apollo's gift of longevity.

Here as in all these stories of the Trojan war, Ovid seems to be leading up to a climax of the imperial theme, though with no such unity or emphasis as Vergil's Aeneid shows. In fact, at the end of the fifteenth book the great imperial passage seems hardly a climax, rather an afterthought. But there it is, and in the list of Rome's triumphs Actium finds its place:

Romanique ducis coniunx Aegyptia taedae
Non bene fisa cadet; frustra erit illa minata,
Servitura suo Capitolia nostra Canopo,²

and among the gods of Rome, not only Aeneas' Penates and the di Indigetes appear, but also Apollo, in the Palatine shrine,

et cum Caesarea, tu, Phoebe domestice, Vesta.³

The prayer to all the gods is to vouchsafe long the favor of Augustus' presence before he shall join the heavenly ranks:

Tarda sit illa dies et nostro serior aevo,
Qua caput Augustum, quem temperat, orbe relicto
Accedat caelo faveatque precantibus absens.⁴

The Metamorphoses ends on the Aeneas-Apollo-Augustus theme.

A few scattered references similar to the end of the Metamorphoses appear in other poems. Particularly, Fasti IV. 951-4 shows the same collocation of Vesta, Phoebus and Augustus as Met. XV. 864-870. It refers to the fact that when Augustus became Pontifex Maximus in 12 B. C. and in that office must ful-

¹ 123-8.

² 826-8.

³ 865.

⁴ 868-70.

fill the duty of dwelling near the precinct of Vesta, he consecrated in his palace on the Palatine a chapel to her. So the Palatine now, says Ovid, has *three* gods,¹

Phoebus habet partem; Vestae pars altera cessit.
Quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet.
State Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu
stet domus: aeternos tres habet una deos.

In Trist. III. 1, 31 ff., there is a long development of the Apollo-Augustus theme, worked out elaborately with descriptions of the Emperor's palace and the god's temple, ending with an appeal to Augustus for the poet's recall, but as this passage has an ulterior motive, connected with Ovid's exile, let us leave it for the present. Trist. II. 23-8 has a reference to the Ludi Saeculares and the Carmen Saeculare of Horace, allusion like the last pointedly calculated to win Caesar's favor.

Was there any reason why Ovid in exile should seek to win the Emperor by emphasizing the Apollo-Augustus theme? In the group of early poems, Phoebus is invoked repeatedly as the god of poetry, and is made sponsor for Ovid's love poetry.² Ovid even calls himself the priest of Phoebus:

Ille ego Musarum purus Phoebique sacerdos
Ad rigidas canto carmen inane fores?³

At the beginning of the *Ars Amatoria* he says his 'arts' were bequeathed him by Phoebus⁴ and in the same poem (III. 3, 315-348) he prays to Phoebus that his poetry may be as famous as that of the greatest Greeks and Romans, with the *Aeneid* in mind last in the list.⁵

Here perhaps to Ovid the god is only what Mr. Warde Fowler calls Apollo: "a good example of the killing power of the conventional use of divine names in literature", but I differ from Mr. Fowler because I think this use peculiarly Ovidian, not that "by the time of Augustus this was practically the only light in which he (Apollo) was regarded by the ordinary Roman."⁶ Other references to Apollo in Ovid's first group of poems seem satirical and aimed at reducing the god to a name or less. In *Ars Am.* II. 493-512, Ovid makes Apollo appear

¹ See Peter's notes.

² *Am.* I. 15, 35-6.

³ *Am.* III. 8, 23-4.

⁴ *Ars Am.* I, 25

⁵ 337-8.

⁶ See W. W. Fowler: "Roman Ideas of Deity," pp. 137 f.

to him with lyre and laurel and announce that all who wish to love should come to his shrine and learn to know themselves, for that is the foundation of loving wisely. Yes, Ovid adds, and of loving successfully. Obey the god. Surely, to an Emperor who was centering the Roman religion in the Apollo cult, it must have been offensive to have Apollo made the sponsor for this *lascivi praeceptor Amoris*.

But Ovid goes further. In *Ars Am.* III. 113-148, he contrasts the luxury and elegance of the Augustan age with the simplicity and rudeness of early Rome and he makes the Palatine a symbol of all Rome's new splendor.

Quae nunc sub Phoebō ducibusque Palatia fulgent,
Quid nisi araturis pascua bubus erant?¹

He declares that the age of luxury is the one for him:

haec aetas moribus apta meis.²

And when he admits frankly

Munditiis capimur,³

he makes the appearance of Phoebus with his flowing locks an example of one style of becoming hair-dressing. How must the Emperor who promulgated sumptuary laws and favored homespun garments have regarded such praise of luxury and personal adornment with the Palatine temple and Apollo offered as models?

Again in *Ars Am.* III. 389-390 where Ovid advises maidens to see more of "life" and to display themselves to be seen of men and to capture,⁴ he urges them to visit the Palatine temple of Apollo in this business,⁵—hardly a reverent allusion to the shrine of Augustus' patron god.

It seems almost as if in such passages Ovid was intentionally satirizing the most prominent cult of the age—by saying, I too will make Apollo the patron of my life's work, the art of love; we must all follow the Emperor! In the *Rem. Am.* 487-92, he claims that Apollo taught him all these arts of loving:

Artes, i, perlege nostras:
Plena puellarum iam tibi navis erit.
Quod siquid praecepta valent mea, siquid Apollo
Utile mortales perdocet ore meo,
Quamvis infelix media torreberis Aetna,
Frigidior glacie fac videre tuae.

¹ 119-120.

² 122.

³ 133.

⁴ 417-424.

⁵ 389-392.

And in Rem. Am. 75-8, he prays Apollo to help him to cure the youths who come to him to be healed of love:

Te precor incipiens, adsit tua laurea nobis,
Carminis et medicae, Phoebe, repertor opis;
Tu pariter vati, pariter succurre medenti,
Utraque tutelae subdita cura tuaest.

Now may not these light references to Phoebus, little short of sacrilegious to an Emperor whose deliberate purpose was making the cult of Apollo the center of the Roman religion, have been a contributory reason for Ovid's exile? Two things, *carmen et error*,¹ sent him from Rome, he says, and it is supposed that the *Ars Amatoria* was the poem and that its *artes amandi* had offended Augustus, the formal moralist. But may not Augustus, the devotee of Apollo, have also been outraged by the sly satire of his patron deity? I think there are references in Ovid's poems of exile which suggest that he vaguely surmised that this might have been the case.

I have already mentioned two passages where an appeal for reversal of sentence is made to Caesar in the name of Apollo. In Trist. II. 22-8, Caesar is reminded that he has admitted the power of song in ordering the *Carmen Saeculare* sung to Apollo at the famous *Ludi*. Ovid adds:

His precor exemplis tua nunc, mitissime Caesar,
Fiat ab ingenio mollior ira meo.

In Trist. III. 1, 31 f., there is a long appeal to the Emperor for pardon, based on a beautiful and serious description of the Palatine hill, the place loved by the Leucadian god, and his shining temple. Is Ovid making amends for previous scurrilous use of the shrine? In Trist. I. 1, 69-74, Ovid has a very significant address to his Book, in which he asks it if it expects to go to the lofty Palatine and the home of Caesar, and tells it it was from that citadel that the thunderbolt fell upon his head. And he adds significantly:

Esse quidem memini mitissima sedibus illis
Numina, sed timeo, qui nocuere, deos.

Again in Trist. II. 543-552, Ovid reminds Caesar that while it

¹ Trist. II. 207.

was the writings of his youth that harmed him, since then he has written six books of the *Fasti*, that the sacred work bears Caesar's name and was broken off only by his exile. In *Trist.* III. 2, 3-8, he reproaches the Muses and the children of Leto for not bringing him aid, and says it is of no avail to him that his muse only was jocund:

Nec vos, Pierides, nec stirps Letoia, vestro
Docta sacerdoti turba tulistis opem.
Nec mihi, quod lusi vero sine crimine, prodest,
Quodque magis vita Musa iocata mea est.

Then there are several other passages where he speaks of an offended *deus*, or *numen*, but whether Augustus or Apollo¹ is meant, is a question. I am inclined to think, however, there is adequate evidence that in Ovid's own mind hovered a suspicion that one contributory cause for his exile was his satirical allusions to Apollo in his early poetry, and that it was well to conciliate the Emperor by appeals on behalf of his later religious writing, the *Fasti*, and in the name of Apollo and his Palatine temple. Certainly, in this later work, Ovid in his allusions to Apollo, the Sibyl, the Palatine, and Caesar is in line with the other poets of the age.

Ovid's message can hardly be called "inspired"; it seems rather imitative and necessitated by his fate. Tibullus admits no orders or influence, but in his one imperial poem may be following Vergil. Propertius, we have already seen, shows the influence of Vergil and acknowledges the request of Maecenas to take up lofty strains. While Horace in *Sat.* II. 6 disclaims that his friendship with Maecenas gives him any knowledge of Caesar's policies, he can hardly have been uninfluenced in his national odes by Maecenas, the diplomatist. Horace tells us, moreover, that Maecenas kept pressing him hard for songs.² Of course, the *C. S.* was written under imperial orders and Suetonius states that the fourth book of odes was written at the express command of the Emperor who set the poet the theme of the victories of Tiberius and Drusus.³ Horace too shows the influence of Vergil, most of all in the

¹ *Trist.* III. 8, 13-6; IV. 8, 45-52; V. 3, 45-58.

² *Epode* 14. 5; *Ep.* I. 1, 1-4.

³ *Suet.* (Teubner Text), p. 297-8.

C. S., and we know from the Georgics whence Vergil took his "haud mollia iussa." Maecenas' name stands at the beginning of Books I, II and IV ¹ and in III. 41 Vergil tells Maecenas he will go on with the work which his patron has ordered, adds

te sine nil altum mens incohat ²

and promises that later he will gird himself to sing of the battles of Caesar

Nomen fama tot ferre per annos. ³

While this evidence does not prove that the poets of the Augustan age were given as an "inspired message" the Apollo-Sibyl-Augustus theme, it can hardly be doubted that the Emperor and Maecenas *did* in general suggest themes and influence the poets of the age, that this particular theme might naturally have been "inspired", and that the prestige and genius of Vergil, who so strikingly voiced this great motif, also influenced his brother poets. Surely, it must have assisted Augustus' deliberate policy of centering the Roman religion in the Apollo cult (that policy which culminated in the transfer of the Sibylline books to the Palatine temple) to have had the poets of the age express in such brilliant fashion the debt of the nation to the god of Actium, the Sibyl's help to the founder of the race, the glory of the Palatine temple, and its fitting guardianship of the Sibylline oracles.

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¹ Georg. I. 2; II. 41; IV. 1-7.

² 42.

³ 47.

II.—THE DATE OF THE VATINIAN LAW.

Early in June, 60 B. C., Cicero wrote to Atticus that Caesar would be home from Spain in two days, but Cicero hardly dreamed that momentous issues waited on that homecoming. The political situation in Rome was complicated. The harmony of the senate and the knights, which Cicero had established during his consulship, had been destroyed by the bickering over the Asian tax-contract and by the trial of Clodius. The popular party was practically leaderless. Catiline was dead; Caesar had been away for a year; Crassus was sulking at the greater favor shown Pompey, with whom he had quarrelled during their consulship ten years before. Pompey was the popular idol, though his natural instincts were rather with the senate. That body, however, had received him coldly on his return from the east, and, worse yet, had refused to ratify his arrangements there or to reward his veterans.

Three candidates were in the field for the consulship of 59 B. C., Bibulus, Lucceius, and Caesar. As early as December, 61 B. C., both Caesar and Bibulus were coquetting with Lucceius, who was wealthy and not too positive in his political views. The date of the election was already set when Caesar arrived at the gates of the city, but he asked for a triumph and for the privilege of standing for the consulship in absence. Being refused, he gave up the triumph and began his campaign for the consulship.

I shall turn aside for a moment to consider the date of the formation of the first triumvirate. The testimony of the ancient authors generally is that the triumvirate was organized in 60 B. C., and most modern authors have followed them (a convenient collection of references to the sources may be found in Sihler, *Annals of Caesar*, 80 ff.). Ferrero, however, misled, as I shall show, by Suetonius, says that the triumvirate was organized after the election, not before (*Greatness and Decline*, I, 283). The narrative of Suetonius (Iul. 19) is as follows: E

duobus consulatus competitoribus, Lucio Luceio Marcoque Bibulo, Luceium sibi adiunxit, pactus ut is, quoniam inferior gratia esset pecuniaque polleret, nummos de suo, communi nomine, per centurias pronuntiaret. Qua cognita re optimates, quos metus ceperat nihil non ausurum eum in summo magistratu concordi et consentiente collega, auctores Bibulo fuerunt tantundem pollicendi, ne Catone quidem abnuente eam largitionem e re publica fieri. Igitur cum Bibulo consul creatur. Eandem ob causam opera ab optimatibus data est ut provinciae futuris consulibus minimi negoti, id est silvae callesque, decernerentur. Qua maxime iniuria instinctus, omnibus officiis Cn. Pompeium adsectatus est Pompeioque M. Crassum reconciliavit ac societatem cum utroque iniit. . . . It has been observed that Suetonius is careful about chronology,¹ and it is also true that in such matters votes should be weighed, not counted. Yet the fact that almost all other ancient testimony contradicts that of Suetonius should lead us to examine more carefully his statements. A little study will reveal his real meaning. The sentence beginning *Igitur* is merely parenthetical or proleptic, otherwise *eandem ob causam* loses meaning. The important thing was that thanks to the corruption fund for Bibulus, he, not the dangerously neutral Luceius, was to be Caesar's colleague. The senate took two measures against Caesar: first, they tried (and successfully) to secure the election of Bibulus with him (my parenthetical phrase "and successfully" stands to my whole narrative precisely as does *Igitur* *creatur* to that of Suetonius); second, having tried to render him as harmless as possible during his consulship, they tried to render him as harmless as possible after it by giving him a worthless province. Suetonius is not therefore necessarily inconsistent with the other sources in regard to the date of the triumvirate. Ferrero argues that the brief interval between Caesar's return and the election was not sufficient for the lengthy negotiations necessary, but he seems to forget that Caesar had been in communication with Luceius long before (Cic. Att. I. 17. 11), and might have been with Pompey and Crassus too. It is true that Cicero knew nothing of it till December, 60 B. C., when Balbus came to him with an invitation to coöperate, adding that Caesar

¹ Cf. Duff, Jour. of Phil. 34. 166.

intended to reconcile Pompey and Crassus (Att. II. 3. 3). It is doubtful if Caesar would have risked this rather hazardous prophecy if he had not already accomplished it. Of course the existence of the compact was not generally known until the agreement of the next three years revealed it.

I shall revert later to another misconception to which the passage in Suetonius has given rise, that the senate waited until after election to decree the consular provinces, and thus violated the Sempronian law. The interpretation given above may acquit the senate of this. Some possible consequences of their action, and possible implications of the phrase *silvae callesque* will be given later.

An attempt will now be made to enumerate the principal events of the year 59 B. C., and to establish their chronological order. I have spoken before of the attention Suetonius pays to chronology, and shall therefore begin with his account, which has the additional merit of being the most complete of the ancient narratives, though not itself complete. I shall supplement this by summaries of the events of the year as recorded by other ancient authors, and finally shall date these events as accurately as possible by references in Cicero's letters and elsewhere.

In outline form the events mentioned by Suetonius (Iul. 20-22) and by other sources are:

1. Publication of the *acta diurna*;
2. Revival of an old custom that the consul without the fasces should be attended by an *accensus* and lictors;
3. Publication of the first agrarian law; followed by
4. Expulsion of Bibulus from the forum, and his retirement to his house. Thereafter he contented himself with issuing edicts that he was observing the heavens;
5. Second agrarian law;
6. Remission of one third of the Asian tax-contract;
7. Other acts of generosity; during these
8. The arrest and imprisonment of Cato; and
9. The intimidation of Lucullus;
10. Clodius allowed to become a plebeian, while Cicero *in iudicio quodam* (i. e., that of Antonius) was deploring the state of the times;
11. Plot of Vettius;

12. Marriage of Caesar to Calpurnia ;
13. Marriage of Pompey to Julia ;
14. The Vatinian Law ; supplemented by
15. A decree of the senate giving Caesar Gallia Comata too.
16. (Plut. Pomp. 47 f.) The ratification of Pompey's acts ;
17. (ibid.) The election of Gabinius and Piso as consuls ;
18. (Plut. Caes. 14.) The election of Clodius as tribune ;
19. (Plut. Cato 31 f.) The oath to observe the agrarian laws imposed on all candidates ;
20. (App. B. C. II. 2. 10 ff.) Exhibitions of every sort (as a result of which came 14) ;
21. (ibid.) The election of Vatinius (!) and Clodius as tribunes ;
22. (Dio 38. 1 ff.) Many laws not specifically mentioned.

Never does Plutarch attempt to give a consistent and complete account of the events of this year. Thus in the Lucullus (42), he mentions 8, 9, 11 only. In the Crassus (14) he refers only to 14, and in the Cicero (30) he says only that Cicero asked Caesar for an appointment and later resigned it. More complete narratives are found in the Cato, the Pompey, and the Caesar. In Pomp. 47 f. he speaks of 3, 4, 5, 13, 12, 4 (again), 16, 17. In Caes. 14 he mentions 3, 5, 13, 12, 4, 14, 8, 18. In Cato 31 f. he says that 13 happened as soon as Caesar was declared elected. He then mentions 3, 4, 19, 5, 8, 14, 18, 17. Appian (B. C. II. 2. 10 ff.) gives the events in this order: 3 and 5 together, 4, 19, 11, 16, 6, 20, 14, 13, 12, 21. Dio (38. 1 ff.) gives the following list: 3, 8, 4, 5, 6, 16, 22, 14, 12, 13, 11, 10. Velleius (II. 44. 3-5) mentions only 13, 6, 4, 14.

A general resemblance is to be observed in the lists, not only in content but also in arrangement. In Suetonius, Dio, Appian, and, to a certain extent, in the longer accounts of Plutarch (though he does not always agree with himself), the numbers in general increase. The list in Velleius is too short to permit a statement. Certain points mentioned by Suetonius are found nowhere else: 1, 2, 7 (unless this is to be identified with 16 and 22), 15. Items 3 and 5 are not separated by Appian. In consequence 4, 8, 9 are sometimes mentioned with 3, sometimes with 5, sometimes only vaguely in connection with the whole contest. However, items 3-9, 16, 19 belong together in time and in character. I shall discuss the various events in order.

Items 1 and 2 are not mentioned except by Suetonius, and can not then be dated.

The agrarian laws may be dated fairly accurately, and with them the other events of the group 3-9 inclusive. It was known at least as early as December, 60 B. C., that Caesar would bring in an agrarian law early in the year (*Cic. Att. II. 2. 3*). This had been the procedure in 63 and also in 60 B. C. The first law seems to have been passed and the commission of twenty appointed when Cicero wrote *Att. II. 6. 2*, probably in April, 59 B. C. There is no certain reference to 5 before *Att. II. 16. 1* (*Kal. Mai.*). There is a reference to the oath that accompanied this law (19) in *Att. II. 18. 2* (written from Rome, therefore after June 1, 59 B. C.).¹ No other allusions are made to events connected with the agrarian laws in the contemporary letters except in *Att. II. 16. 2*, which seems to refer to 4 and to Pompey's expressed willingness to use force to defend Caesar's legislation (*cf. Plut. Pomp. 41*). I shall return to this point later. The arrest of Cato is not mentioned by Cicero, but it is barely possible that something especially spectacular caused the reference to him in *Att. II. 5. 2*, where Cato's opinion is highly valued by Cicero. This letter was written probably about the middle of April. The agrarian laws seem then to belong to the first few months of the year, possibly to March-April, as February was given up to hearing foreign embassies. If the custom of alternating the fasces was observed at this time, Bibulus would have had them in January and March; this however is doubtful.² Suetonius, Appian, and Dio are therefore justified in putting them early in the list of events of the year. Connected in all probability with the agrarian laws were the clashes with Cato, Bibulus and Lucullus. In *Pomp. 41* Plutarch says that Bibulus continued in retirement for eight months, which fits in very well with the other evidence. So too Velleius (*II. 44. 5*) says "Bibulus . . . maiore parte anni domi se tenuit."

¹ Cf. Abbott, *The Chronology of Cicero's Letters of the Year 59 B. C.*, in *A. J. P.* 19. 389 ff. Abbott puts this letter between June 15 and July 6. My independent dating of the letters of this year agrees in general with his.

² Mommsen, *Staatsr. I* 3. 41ff.; Willems, *Le Sénat*, *II.* 126-28.

I come now to the measure for the relief of the publicans. If this was the prize offered to Crassus for joining the triumvirate, it might be expected to come early in the year as evidence that Caesar was carrying out his part of the bargain. It is mentioned high in the list by Suetonius and not much later by Appian and Dio. It seems to be referred to by Cicero in Att. II. 16. 2, written about May 1, though it may be the whole question, which had been under discussion for two years, and not any particular proposal that was in Cicero's mind. Along with this measure would naturally go the other bill for the ratification of Pompey's acts, the rewards for his soldiers having been provided for in part at least by the second agrarian law. Strangely no reference is made to this by Suetonius (unless, as I have suggested, it is one of the numerous acts of generosity which Caesar performed, but it is mentioned immediately after 5 by Plutarch (Pomp. 41), between 5 and 6 by Appian and immediately after 6 by Dio. There is no certain reference in Cicero. Nothing forbids us then to put the ratification of Pompey's acts early in the year, even if nothing compels us to do so. This would be the natural place for it if it were Pompey's reward for giving up his quarrel with Crassus and joining the triumvirate. What the other acts of generosity were is unknown.

Cicero tells us (de domo 16. 21) that when he was defending C. Antonius, and had made some remarks lamenting the political situation, Clodius was made a plebeian, apparently because certain powerful persons had given heed to a garbled version of Cicero's words. The date can be fixed with fair accuracy. From Att. II. 2. 3, written in December, 60 B. C., we learn that the jury which was to try Antonius was being impanelled, but Antonius himself had not returned from Macedonia. In another passage (in Vat. 11. 27), we are told that Vatinius early in his term proposed a law *de alternis consiliis reiciendis*, which Cicero praises. At the same time he blames the author for waiting so long before having it passed that Antonius was unable to profit by it. The adoption of Clodius had been accomplished when Att. II. 7. 2 was written, about April 16. The letters of Cicero of this time are full of references to Clodius, most of them in connection with his proposed embassy to Tigranes, though in the letter just mentioned the chance of his

securing the tribunate was discussed. The first news that he was actually a candidate for that office seems to have been received from Curio on April 19 (Att. II. 12. 2). The trial of Antonius is usually assigned to the first two months of the year; it might have been a little later, but in no case later than early April.

Items 3-10 inclusive therefore belong to the first four months of the year. It is impossible to establish any more definitely their chronological relation to one another, except in the case of 3 and 5, which came in that order. For our immediate purpose, it is unnecessary to determine more closely the order of these events. I should conceive, however, that the order was roughly this: In the early part of the year, when Caesar was still trying to co-operate with the senate, probably little of an important character was done. If February was consumed by hearing embassies, there was probably no important bill proposed by Caesar himself before March (Vatinus, of course, who was inaugurated in the preceding December, might have proposed but not carried his bill *de alternis consiliis reiciendis* earlier). As the commission to execute the provisions of the first agrarian law was already active in mid-April (see above) and is not there spoken of as very recently appointed, we may imagine that this law was proposed in March; that the senate soon revealed its plan of campaign, as a result of which Caesar went to the assembly. The debates there and the obstructive tactics of the senatorial party may have induced Caesar to put through items 1 and 2 as entering wedges in his attack upon the prerogatives of the senate. Being successful in these preliminaries, he brought in and finally passed his first agrarian law. All indications point to a rather protracted debate on both the agrarian laws. During these debates at any stage might have occurred the attacks on Cato, Bibulus and Lucullus. Probably the next generation of Romans could hardly have told just when. The debates over these laws, the remission of the Asian tax-contract for the benefit of the publicans, and the ratification of Pompey's acts, consumed the rest of March, April and perhaps early May. During this intense activity Caesar still found time to assist the transfer of Clodius to the ranks of the plebeians, a proceeding which seems to have been decided upon suddenly and executed with haste (cf. Suet. Iul.

20: "Publius Clodius . . . eodem die horaque nona transduxit").

The plot of Vettius, whatever it was, occurred in the latter half of the year. Our sources are confused. Appian puts it before 6 and 16. Dio mentions it and the transfer of Clodius last among the events of the year. We have a full description of the affair, written soon after it happened, in Att. II. 24, an undated letter. The limits within which the plot came can be established. In Att. II. 24. 2 Cicero speaks of a warning given Pompey by Bibulus a. d. iii. Id. Mai. The letter was then written no earlier than this date. It is, as a matter of fact, too early, as Cicero had not then returned to Rome. The traditional order of the letters to Atticus of this period seems to be correct wherever we have sure tests (in general cf. Abbott, *op. cit.*), and we may advance the earliest possible date of II. 24 as follows: In Att. II. 21. 3 Cicero speaks of a speech made by Pompey on July 25. If the letters are in sequence II. 24 belongs after July 25, probably in early or middle August if not later. The assumption that the traditional order is correct is confirmed by the relation of II. 23 and 24. In II. 23. 3 Cicero asks Atticus to be in Rome at the time of the inauguration of the tribunes (December 10), if not at their election. At the beginning of II. 24 he enjoins even greater haste than he had urged in his last letter, which is probably II. 23, as there is no evidence of a lost letter. (This evidence has already been used so far by Abbott.) We know that the comitia (meaning probably the consular comitia) were postponed to Oct. 18. The relative dates of tribunician and consular elections is uncertain,¹ but there is no reason to believe that in this year they did not occur close together, no matter whether the consular or the tribunician election came first. Cicero wanted Atticus in Rome for the tribunician if possible, and would naturally allow him as much time as he could to get to Rome. We have no explicit evidence as to the time necessary, nor do we know precisely where in Epirus Atticus was, though our first guess may be Buthrotum. Probably six weeks is the least time necessary to allow Cicero's

¹ Mommsen, *Staatsr.* I. 580, n. 2 puts the consular comitia first; Lange, *Röm. Alt.* I². 718, followed by Sanford in *University of Nebraska Studies*, XI. 304, puts the tribunician first. Our problem does not demand certainty. The difference in date of the letter will be small.

messenger to get to Atticus and Atticus to make the necessary arrangements and get to Rome.¹ We might then date Att. II. 23 as late as September first, though probably late August is safer, and II. 24 very soon thereafter. This fixes the date of the plot of Vettius. A *terminus ante quem* is established by Cicero's statement (in Vat. 10. 25) that one purpose of the plot was to discredit Lentulus in his campaign for the consulship. The plot therefore occurred before the election (about Oct. 18; Att. II. 20. 6). (Abbott dates II. 24 in mid-August; Baiter, whom Watson follows, August; Müller says merely before Oct. 18; Tyrrell gives no exact date.)

The marriages arranged to secure the permanence of the triumvirate have been variously dated. Velleius mentions the marriage of Pompey and Julia first; Appian and Dio agree with Suetonius in mentioning both marriages late in the year. Plutarch (Cato 31) says that the marriage of Pompey and Julia came immediately after Caesar's election. In Pomp. 47 he says merely that the match was arranged suddenly. This statement is confirmed by the solitary reference in Cicero (Att. II. 17. 2; early May), which speaks of *ista repentina adfinitatis coniunctio*. The early date of Plutarch can not stand against Cicero's testimony; neither can the late date indicated by Appian, Dio and Suetonius. Velleius here seems more accurate. We may say however that the historians who mention the events late in the year may have unintentionally misled us. There was a clear logical and rhetorical difference between these marriages, and legislation and historians might very easily displace, consciously or unconsciously, such events for rhetorical purposes. (This can hardly be true of Suetonius, who says that the marriages were arranged *sub idem tempus* with respect to the plot of Vettius. He may of course not have known when the plot occurred.) Modern historians are very likely to devote a separate paragraph to the marriages, even though in general following chronology. Nothing dates the marriage of Caesar and Calpurnia. It is mentioned in connection with the other, but this might be on logical grounds.

¹Acastus reached the Piraeus from Rome in twenty-one days, but the trip was made *sane strenue* (Cic. Fam. XIV. 5. 1). We shall be safe in allowing at least as long as for an ordinary trip to Epirus, though we can not be sure about any particular case without direct testimony.

Omitting 14 for a moment, I shall give briefly the evidence for the later items. Item 15 is not mentioned but obviously follows 14. Item 16 has been discussed above in connection with 6. The elections (17, 18, 21—the statement that Vatinus and Clodius were elected together is clearly wrong) were held in October, as shown above. Item 20 is undatable, but the games may have come in mid-summer, or perhaps have been part of the very numerous holidays of the autumn. Their position in the list indicates the former, and we have a period of several months (May-August, roughly) to which we can assign nothing. The same is true of the numerous laws regarded as unimportant by Dio (22). These too may have come in the summer months.

We come at last to 14. Before attempting to date it, I wish to consider the law in its general relation to the political situation. It will be remembered that according to Suetonius the senate decreed the consuls *silvae callesque*. It has sometimes been stated that the senate violated the Sempronian law by waiting until after election to decree the consular provinces, but the interpretation given above disposes of this charge. However legal their action may have been in this respect, it was certainly very foolish, and perhaps also illegal in another respect. Professor Rolfe (PAPA. 44. xlvii-xlviii) concluded that *silvae callesque* was a slang term explanatory of *minimi negoti*, and in A. J. P. 36. 323 ff. he has considered more fully the meaning of the words, and the identity of these provinces with the quaestorian *callium provincia*. Among other things he asks whether the senate decreed one province or two. Apparently no *silvarum provincia* to balance *callium p.* ever existed, and if *silvae callesque* means *callium provincia* there was only one province for two proconsuls (for these were undoubtedly proconsular provinces; see the references in Rolfe, A. J. P. 1. c.). There arises in consequence a series of delicate questions, assuming that *provinciae* in reference to Caesar's time can mean one province. The declaration of one province for two magistrates would be about the same as depriving one of them of a prerogative if not of an actual legal right. In earlier times it was not uncommon for the senate to assign both consuls to one *provincia*: e. g., Liv. 32. 28. 8 ff. and 32. 48. 8 ff., etc. But this was a different matter: consuls, not proconsuls, were in-

volved, and Sulla's legislation was still far in the future. Bibulus apparently did not want a province—at least he did not take one until drafted along with Cicero after Pompey's legislation of 52 B. C., but the senate could hardly take into consideration the preference of a candidate not yet elected. Evidence is scanty, but it is probable that the senate always decreed two proconsular provinces and took it for granted, with perfect justice, that both would be claimed. In 63 B. C. Cicero did not take a province and Metellus Celer was sent to the vacant province of Cisalpine Gaul as proconsul though he had been only praetor (the title is regular enough). Cicero does not miss the chance to remind him that this more desirable province had been allotted to him through his own (Cicero's) self-denial (*Fam. V. 2. 3*). We do not know that Cicero had announced during his campaign that he did not want a province if elected but, if he had done so, the senate could hardly have taken cognizance of the announcement and selected only one province. His official announcement at least was made later: cf. in *Pis. 2. 5*, in a chronological list of the events of his consulship. A passage in *Att. II. 1. 3*, containing a list of his consular speeches—his renunciation of a province is the sixth—is bracketed by some editors. The former reference however is sufficient to prove that the real renunciation was made during his term and not before election. The list of praetors and consuls who did not take provinces is fairly long but we know too little about their cases to draw conclusions. It seems reasonable to believe that the senate regularly chose two proconsular provinces, filling one if necessary with a praetor or another promagistrate from a previous year. If now the senate did decree only one province, it violated custom if not an actual provision of law, and Caesar could thus justify himself for going to the people for his province. If the senate did decree two provinces, as is more probable, which can not be identified but were both worthless, they were again guilty of infringing upon a moral if not a legal right, and Caesar was again justified in appealing to the people. In any case their choice was a gratuitous insult to Caesar, whose election they practically conceded. That Bibulus, if elected, would have to suffer along with Caesar, was a matter of minor importance. Perhaps it

was the prospect of having to take a poor province that helped Bibulus to decide that he did not want one.

Let us now attempt to date the law. The preceding discussion has revealed the fidelity of Suetonius, particularly, to chronology, and to a lesser degree the fidelity of the other writers. Velleius gives only a brief list, but this seems very accurate as far as it goes. The most notable exception is in the matter of the marriages, and this deviation can be easily explained. One's first assumption would then be that the Vatinian law was passed late in the year. Unfortunately we have no contemporary reference to the law. Att. II. 25, written before the elections but after II. 24, for which see above, refers only to the general hopelessness of the political situation. Ad Q. F. I. 2, written after the elections but before the inauguration of the tribunes, mentions nothing but the attack of C. Cato on Pompey, and the chance of a prosecution of Cicero by Clodius. On the other hand, Caesar had offered in June (Att. II. 18. 3) to take Cicero with him as a *legatus*, which might indicate that Caesar already had a province. The same might be inferred from Pompey's threat to the opponents of the agrarian law: "Oppressos vos tenebo exercitu Caesaris" (Att. II. 16. 2, about May 1). But Caesar knew that he would have some province, and intended to have an army, if he did not already have one. He seems to have had an army of some sort the next year before he left Rome (Cic. post red. in sen. 13. 32). We need not therefore conclude that as early as May Caesar had a province. All that can certainly be inferred is that he did not intend to have *silvae callesque*.¹

In the absence of more positive evidence we may assemble general probabilities. First, the position of the references in the sources indicates a relatively late date, as already pointed out. Second, the character of the earlier events of the year must be considered. The agrarian laws were primarily vote-getting measures, as was that of C. Gracchus, probably that brought in by Rullus in 63 B. C., and certainly the numerous

¹ It was recognized that a consul on entering office was entitled to a province. Cf. Cic. de prov. cons. 15. 37: "Quo mihi nihil videtur alienius a dignitate disciplinaque maiorum quam ut qui consul Kalendis Ianuariis habere provinciam debet, is ut eam desponsam non decretam habere videatur."

similar proposals of the early Republic (cf. my paper on The Conservation of Natural Resources in the Roman Republic, *Class. Weekly*. 8. 58 ff.). Plutarch repeatedly and significantly says that Caesar acted more like a tribune than a consul. The concession regarding the Asian taxes, which would gain the support of the knights, as Appian points out, and the ratification of Pompey's acts were partly vote-getting devices and partly payment of Caesar's political debts to his colleagues. The other acts of generosity mentioned by Suetonius, whatever they were, were doubtless of the same character. We know how untiring Caesar was in this respect later. Appian expressly states that the acceptance of the Vatinian law was the direct result of the lavish entertainments which Caesar gave the people, and the statement is generally, if not specifically, true. Incidentally we may recall the fact that these exhibitions can hardly be placed before summer and possibly not before autumn. Cicero frequently refers to the unpopularity of the triumvirs, and though his statements must not be taken too literally there is undoubtedly a measure of truth in them. It is by no means certain that before the agrarian laws were passed Caesar could have passed such a measure as that of Vatinius. This may be said without doubting Caesar's prominence as a democratic leader. In July or August Caesar tried in vain to stir up the people against Bibulus (*Att. II.* 21. 5). How long the dissatisfaction of the people continued to be expressed and not simply felt, we do not know. The triumvirs were hissed in the theater in July (*Att. II.* 19. 3), and about the same time the crowds around the edicts of Bibulus blocked traffic (*Att. II.* 21. 4). Without overemphasizing these statements we may still say that there was a substantial element opposed to the triumvirs. Probably later their discontent was in some cases transformed into a sullen discouragement, in others removed altogether under the cumulative influence of agrarian laws, political services, and lavish shows. It seems then that we should place the Vatinian law at least in the latter half of the year, probably in the last third.¹ It was Caesar's reward for service

¹ In any case it came before December 9, when Vatinius retired from office. Appian, as already noted, is certainly wrong on the year of his tribunate.

rendered, mainly, as we have seen, in the first four months of the year. Ferrero (G. and D. I. 290) suggests that Caesar's attention was directed to Gaul by the death of Metellus Celer and that the chance of going there was offered by that event, which he puts in the middle of February. I do not know what evidence he finds for this date: the earliest reference known to me is Att. II. 5. 2 (middle of April), where Cicero wonders who will succeed Metellus in the augurate. Nothing fixes more definitely the date of his death (cf. Pauly-Wissowa², s. v., where he is said to have been alive after the passage of the agrarian law). That the Vatinian law was passed on March 1, soon, in other words, after the death of Metellus as Ferrero puts it, we may safely doubt, as that was not a comitial day. Ferrero makes this ingenious combination to explain why Caesar's term in Gaul began on March 1, 59 B. C. I agree with him that other explanations of this are unsatisfactory; that he improves the situation I doubt. I am not even perfectly convinced that Caesar's term did begin then. The bearing of the date of the Vatinian law on this point I hope to discuss at another time.¹

The list of events as elicited from the sources is not complete: it omits, for example, the legislation of Caesar's colleagues, especially Vatinius and Calenus; it omits too the debate about Ptolemy and the negotiations with Ariovistus; most striking of all, it omits Caesar's own constructive legislation on the government of provinces. This received the approval of the ancients but is nowhere referred to by our sources. We may guess however with some confidence. Caesar could hardly have found time for such legislation before the middle of the year. The first four or five months were filled with political activity, assuring the position of the triumvirs and paying political debts. It is true that the agrarian laws were statesmanlike measure, but, even at this time, in preference to a popular but unstatesmanlike measure, a popular and statesmanlike measure would

¹ Mommsen (*Die Rechtsfrage zwischen Cäsar und dem Senat*, 42) dismissed the whole matter of the Vatinian law summarily: "Ob das Vatinische Gesetz vor oder nach dem 1. März 695 durchgebracht ward, ist nicht bekannt und auch gleichgültig." This remark may account for the little attention paid to the date, which in my judgment has more significance both for the term of Caesar and for our estimate of his statesmanship than Mommsen admits.

be chosen by Caesar. Incidentally the character of his laws makes me doubt whether he was after all entirely responsible for the bill of Rullus. I conceive the general order of events of 59 B. C. to have been as follows: (1) measures intended primarily to secure Caesar's position and that of the triumvirs—especially 3, 5, 6, 16 above (if some of these were permanently valuable, so much the better); (2) provision for Caesar's future—14; (3) constructive legislation. This would be roughly parallel to his actions during his dictatorship, when, after providing for his present and future positions, he took up the problem of reform on a large scale. Similar too were the programs of C. Gracchus and Sulla. Such a procedure reveals the combination of practical politician and statesman in Caesar. He realized that to accomplish anything for himself or any one else he must have abundant support: this we may say without attributing to him any far-reaching plans for reform during his consulship, and also without attributing to him any indifference to anything but his own future. The ease with which Caesar and his associates controlled politics, especially at first, may be exaggerated. Their victory was not an easy one. Prudence and statesmanlike self-denial alike dictated to Caesar the postponement of the provision for his own future. We must bear in mind the fact that while Caesar had given clear indications (clear to us, at least) of his possibilities, the Roman estimate of him at this time was less high, and he had to his credit no brilliant record to which Vatinius might appeal as had Cicero of Pompey's career. A rebuff at this time would have been fatal to Caesar. The natural procedure on Caesar's part was to wait until he was sure that his request would be granted; until he could show his associates that he had faithfully carried out his part of the compact; until he could show the popular party a substantial body of legislation in their interest; until to foolish and unnecessary insult the senate had added unwillingness to co-operate.

If my reconstruction is correct, our faith in Caesar's statesmanship is strengthened. Ferrero gives us a Caesar without political principles or platform, and this Caesar is probably as false as the inspired statesman of Mommsen or Napoleon. Caesar should have credit, however, for desiring the good of the state even during his consulship. When he could, he used

his position and his opportunities to put through valuable measures, and he combined the good with the popular whenever he could. Later in the year, he could ask for something for himself with the assurance that it was merely fair return for what he had already done for others. Unselfishness and policy alike however advised postponement. The Vatinius law was then, in my opinion, passed late in the year.

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III.—VINDICIAE PHAEDRIANAE.

The fabulist Phaedrus, as I have said elsewhere, was unhappy in his life and ill fortune pursued him after death. And in our days his remains and his reputation have suffered not a little from the undiscerning impatience of a generation alternately as precipitate in acceptance of a mechanical principle as irrational in revolt against it. The hope that I can undo something of what has been done amiss in current exposition and criticism is expressed in the title to this paper. My task is the exigent scrutiny of details; it offers no room for the collecting industry which amasses its hoard without a suspicion that every coin in it may be base. It will involve consideration of the fabulist's idiosyncrasies, repellent, as it would seem, to more than one of his critics, and of the condition of his text which has been perhaps as much oppressed by the comments and corrections of the scholar as impaired by the corruptions of the scribe.

In the Fables, as now presented to us, there is much to cause offence; many things, one is forced to think, that have been miswritten, miscopied or misunderstood. Hence a triple divergence in the ways of critics, some blaming the author, some altering the words and some contorting their sense. I will begin with instances where he has been reprehended for inconsistency, inconcinnity or falsity to fact.

No. XIV of the Appendix of Cardinal Perotti has been the object of more than one attack and the first two lines have not escaped. The crisp conciseness of the couplet

Vnam expetebant uirginem iuuenes duo
uicit locuples genus et formam pauperis

might have disarmed suspicion. But because it is not expressly declared that the rich suitor was low-born and ill-favoured and because the poor suitor's avocation as a market gardener (*hortulanus*) has to be understood from his *hortuli* in v. 5 and his *asellus* in vv. 11 f., the *brevitas* of Phaedrus (II prol. 12, IV epil. 7, III 10. 60 '*brevitate nimia quoniam quosdam offendi*

mus') is forgotten and a lacuna of from one to four lines invented.

Through similar inattention the topographical indications have been blamed as obscure. The rich suitor had a house in the town (v. 8); and from this the marriage procession starts (9, 10) for his larger country mansion where the festivities were to be held. This mansion was on the same road as the poor suitor's cottage and market garden (which were at no great distance from the town, *propinquos—hortulos* 5), only a little further on (*ultra paulo* 6). The route of the procession lay through the city gate. Here (a very natural station) the poor suitor's ass was standing, and it was commandeered for the lady's use (11-14). A sudden storm came on; and the ass with his burden made for the nearest refuge, the cottage that he knew so well (21). What obscurity is there here? Has the critic stumbled over the application of *portae in limine* to a city gate? If he has not read the second Aeneid (242 *ipso in limine portae*), his author had (III prol. 27 f.).

At I 4. 2 Phaedrus has been censured for making a swimming dog see his reflection in the water. But the swimming animal is not the fabulist's but his editors'. The lines should be punctuated

Canis per flumen carnem dum ferret, natans
lympharum in speculo uidit simulacrum suum.

For *natans* of the swimming image see Statius Theb. 2. 42 'ingens medio natat umbra profundo'. The illustrator of the Fables of the Ademar Paraphrast (no. vii) did not make the mistake. See the reproduction in Thiele's edition, Der illustrierte Aesop in der Handschrift des Ademar, plate II and pages 25, 42 of the letterpress. None of the other Paraphrasts make the dog swim, but, as it would seem, cross by a bridge.

In the Fable of the Panther and the Countrymen, III 2, we read in our current texts that, when the beast was caught in the pit,

alii fustes congerunt,
alii onerant saxis; quidam contra miseriti,
periturae quippe quamuis nemo laederet, 5
misere panem ut sustineret spiritum.

The Latinity of this, the reading of the Pithoeanus and the lost Remensis, if, as seems unavoidable, it has to be understood,

not in the sense of *quamquam nemo laedebat* (-eret) but in that of *etiamsi nemo laesurus esset*, is more than questionable; this however is not my present concern. But what a reason for compassion! 'Some pitied the beast because it would die—in any case'! And yet we have two clues to the true and the simple sense; first, that of the author in the last line of the fable where the Panther says 'I return to punish those who have *injured me*' ('*qui me laeserunt*'), and, secondly, the evidence of the 'Paraphrasts'¹ who agree in a clear testimony to something very unlike what P and R present '*parcite innocenti quae neminem laesit*'. This has been noted by L. Mueller, who proposed '*cum laesisset neminem*,' and by Riese, whose remedy was '*neminem quae laeserit*'. The fatal objection to both is that they pay no regard to P R whose reading should not merely be rejected but accounted for. The indirect witness has given us the sense, and the direct must help us to the words. Of the three words that compose the phrase, two, *quamuis* and *laederet*, are in themselves unexceptionable. The offending *nemo* is left. If it goes, as it must, there are only two words that can be put in its place, *nullum* and *nullos*, both equally near to the easy corruption *nullus*, for which *nemo* is simply a substitute.

Just exception is taken to anything which, like the *nemo* in the passage last considered, injures the purpose of the story. This does not apply to the carnivorous cow and her companions in I 5, animals that, if they could, would have been as summarily removed as was the vegetarian fox of Horace, Ep. I 7. 29, by Bentley. Critics, as I have observed elsewhere², are prone to confuse these creatures of Fable with their congeners in common life. If we do not trouble about their talking, why should we be particular about their eating? They are not beings but types of character, as indeed Phaedrus himself indicates here '*patiens ouis iniuriae*' v. 3. Had Phaedrus thought it was necessary to apologize for providing his domestic beasts with the appetites which would make them hunt with a lion, his answer to an objector would no doubt have been '*fictis meminerit nos iocari fabulis*' I prol. 7.

¹ On the importance of the indications in these mediaeval collections to the student of the text of Phaedrus I may refer to my recent articles in *Classical Philology*, XIII 262 sqq. and the *Classical Quarterly*, XII 89 sqq.

² *Classical Quarterly*, VIII (1914), 240 f.

The trouble is different at I 2. 16 where both fact and expression have been imperfectly understood. The Frogs pray to Jupiter for a King; and in response a small log is dropped from heaven. Its fall and splash upon the marsh put the timid inhabitants in a fright:

paruum tigillum missum quod subito uadi
motu sonoque terruit pauidum genus. 15

Phaedrus proceeds:

hoc mersum limo cum iaceret diutius,
forte una tacite profert e stagno caput
et explorato rege cunctas euocat.
illae timore posito certatim adnatant
lignumque supra turba petulans insilit. 20

So unnatural is it to refer *hoc—iaceret* (for which *lateret* has indeed been conjectured) to the *pauidum genus* instead of the *paruum tigillum* that those who do so cannot have grasped the situation or the meaning of *mersum*. Carried by the momentum of its fall from the sky the log has plunged into the mud below the shallow pools. There it 'lies'; but it is not 'buried' therein. Its upper parts show above the surface, in view of the frog that first thrusts its head above the water and exposed to the invasion and insults of it and its companions. That 'plunging' is a legitimate rendering of *mergere* may be seen e. g. from Ovid Met. 3. 249 '*mersisque in corpore rostris*' of the dogs that thrust their fangs into Actaeon.

In III 7 a slur upon the poet's character as a stylist has been removed by M. Havet who, on the evidence furnished by the Paraphrasts (cf. Thiele, *Der lateinische Äsop des Romulus*, No. LXV), has transferred lines 21–24, a meaningless interruption where they are found in the MSS, to their proper position after 10. It is true that Thiele, *ib.*, p. xxxix, refuses to accept the transposition: "Die beiden Anstösse sind im Phädrus nicht etwa durch Umstellung zu tilgen, sondern da man weiss, dass er ungelenk erzählt, zu belassen"; but Thiele's prejudice against the author, apparent in every part of his work, leads him to acquiesce in any blemish of the text.

About IV 13. 7, where however the text has not to my knowledge hitherto been suspected, I do not feel altogether sure. The Lion who has now 'made himself King over the Beasts'

and is ambitious to be thought a clement ruler abandons his previous habits.

atque inter illas *tenui* contentus *cibo*
sancta incorrupta iura reddebat fide.

The change in the Lion's diet is ill expressed by '*tenui cibo*'. For what is meant is that he had been a flesh-eater, not that he had been a glutton or gourmet¹. This was understood by the Weissenburg Paraphrast: '*contentus sine sanguine cibum*' i. e. '*cibo*.' Similarly other paraphrases "*renuntians prioribus factis et mutauit consuetudinem 'pecus ullum se non laedere, sine sanguine cibum sumere'*" "*nec uoluit sanguineam praedam sequi*" (Thiele, No. LXX, pp. 236 f.). It is clear also from the sequel of the fable, which has been lost in Phaedrus but can be gathered from the versions of the Paraphrasts (Thiele l. c., Hervieux II, pp. 149, 188, 223), where the Ape falls a victim when the Lion relapses into his old carnivorous habits. A more suitable epithet is that used by Ovid, *Met.* 15. 478, where in contradistinction to animal food a vegetarian diet is called '*alimenta mitia*', that is, 'gentle' or 'humane'. Phaedrus then may well have written *miti* here. But I feel no assurance that he did.

In the whole of Phaedrus there is perhaps no more genuine product of Fable-land than the judgment of the Ape in the case of the Wolf and the Fox I 10

uterque causam cum perorassent suam,
dixisse fertur simius sententiam
'tu non uideris perdidisse quod petis;
te credo surripuisse quod pulcre negas'.

'Liars both! Plaintiff nonsuited and defendant condemned!' Thus the Gilbertian judge; and no doubt there was 'applause and laughter in court'. But this jester's variation on 'not proven' has been too much for some critics of Phaedrus who desiderate a more serious treatment of logic and law, such as might have been expected from the Ape as he was conceived by Romulus the Paraphrast, IV 10, Thiele, *Der lateinische Aesop*,

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* III 49 '*Epicurus . . . tenuem uictum antefert copioso*' a passage cited by Thiele, *op. cit.*, p. 239, who notes the discrepancy between the text of Phaedrus and the tradition of the Paraphrasts.

No. XLVIII, p. 146 'nudant fraudes suas et uera sibi dicunt mutuo crimina. tunc *iustus et uerax iudex iudicauit inter partes eorum et de libello sententiam legit*. tu, inquit, quaeris quod non perdidisti et te tamen credo *aliquid surripuisse* quod bene negas in iudicio. talis sit abolitio uestra et pares exite concordēs'. That there was a strong vein of humour in the composition of Phaedrus we are justified in concluding from the apologues of the *mulier parturiens* I 18 and the *caluus et musca* V 3 with others besides.

Of the popular and easy-going modes of thinking congenial to the Fable we find examples elsewhere. In IV 22. 27 where Simonides is drawing a moral from the destitute condition of his fellow-passengers

'dixi' inquit 'mea
mecum esse cuncta; uos quod *rapuistis* perit'.

I should myself have preferred Bentley's *habuistis* as providing a better contrast to *mea*. But I do not doubt that in *rapuistis* Simonides is glancing at the hasty gathering of their treasures by the passengers when the vessel sank (11).

Conversely in V 4. 9

sed dices 'qui rapuere diuitias *habent*'.
numeremus agedum qui *deprenti* perierunt;
maiores turbam punitorum reperies,
paucis temeritas est bono, multis malo

it has been proposed to expel *habent* in favour of *latent*¹ or some less plausible substitute, the reason being that *habent* does not furnish a proper antithesis to *deprenti perierunt*. This is mere caprice. Verb and tense express that those who have clutched at riches 'still keep' their ill-gotten gains. So much is stated, and the rest is implied.

Two passages of V 5, the Ventriloquist and the Rustic, have been reprehended on grounds that I must think inadequate. In 11, 12 we read

dispersus rumor ciuitatem concitat
paulo ante *uacua* turbam deficient *loca*

which means that in the theatre that a while ago had been empty there was now no room for the crowd. The sense of *loca*

¹ Bentley altered *rapuere* to *latuere*.

with the adjective and with the verb is not absolutely the same; but the slight shift of meaning is very natural and would certainly not have been noticed by a Roman.

In 29 ff.

tunc simulans sese uestimentis rusticus
porcellum obtegere (quod faciebat scilicet
sed in priore quia nil compererant latens)
peruellit aurem uero quem celauerat

simulans has been censured because the pig was really there and so there was no 'pretence'. This is running language very hard. Why should not the participle mean 'trying', that is *affecting*, 'to pretend'?

At IV 19. 6

hanc alia cum rogaret causam facinoris
respondit 'Ne quis discat prodesse improbis'

the real meaning of this impudently cynical defence of ingratitude appears to be 'That *all* should learn *not* to help the wicked'. Its illogical form belongs to popular and colloquial speech, which is apt to get confused where negatives are involved. *discat* has thus crept into the place of *uelit* or the like; and we have a mixture belonging to the same class as Livy's phrase 3. 41. 9 '*minus in bono constans quam nauum in malitia ingenium*' for which '*magis in bono non constans*' would have been expected.

One of the forms which the curtness of Phaedrus takes is the use of a word without the expected qualifier, a feature which we often find in Silver Latin writers. A simple example is II 8. 21 '*quia corruptos uiderat nuper boues*' which the Paraphrasts who give *macilentos* rightly understand as '*macie corruptos*' (the phrase of Caesar B. C. 3. 58. 5). The employment of *genus* for 'class of composition', 'branch of letters' in II 1. 1 '*Exemplis continetur Aesopi genus*' has provoked a number of emendations though it only carries the use of IV prol. 13 '*usus uetusto genere sed rebus nouis*' a short step further.

It is an interesting question whether curtness or inconsistency is to be seen in App. 15. 10 where Aesop affords a warning on

the danger of speaking the truth. His mistress is enraged at his plainspeaking on the subject of her charms

et *obiurgari* iussit *seruum* garrulum,

a castigation to which Aesop refers at the end of the piece

‘*flagris* sum *caesus*, uerum quia dixi modo’.

Now it is true that elsewhere *obiurgare*, when used of physical correction, takes an ablative of the instrument and hence *seruum* is usually amended to *ferula* or *ferulis*. If however the qualifier may be suppressed, *seruum* may be retained with a very good sense “ordered him to be ‘rebuked’ as a talkative slave”, that is, for forgetting his position. Both *ferulis* (Suetonius Cal. 20) and *flagris* (id. Otho 2) are found with *obiurgari*; but they did not mean the same, as ‘the freedman of Augustus’ would be well aware. If then the slave who had been admonished with a cane said he had been cut with a lash, this must be regarded as intentional exaggeration.

Misconception of the uses of *uirgo* has caused trouble in the Ephesian tale of the Widow and the Soldier, App. 13. In 5 for

claram assecuta est famam *castae uirginis*

M. Havet’s text gives *casto uiduio*. Mr. L. Rank, *Mnemosyne* 40. 53, proposes *casta uiduitas*. But *uirgo* often means no more than a ‘young woman’, whether married or single. In Verg. Buc. 6. 46, 52 ‘*infelix uirgo*’ is addressed to the wife of Minos and the mother of the Minotaur and Silius’s application of it to Pyrene in 3. 420 ff. may serve to show that there was nothing peculiar in the use: ‘*nomen Bebrycia duxere a uirgine colles, | hospitis Alcidae crimen qui . . . | lugendam formae sine uirginitate reliquit | Pyrenen*’ and after this ‘*laceros Tirynthius artus, | dum remeat uictor, lacrimis perfudit et amens | palluit inuento dilectae uirginis ore*’. So far from touching *uirgo* in v. 5 we should do well to restore it to Phaedrus in v. 28.

at sancta *mulier* ‘non est quod timeas’ ait
uirique corpus tradit figendum cruci

following at once upon

turbatus miles factum exponit *mulieri*

has very properly been questioned. '*sancta uirgine*', the received correction, gives a collocation of words that Phaedrus might certainly have used though there is nothing to show that he would. '*sancta uirgo*' is however a preferable substitute. It would carry a sting in its double entente that would be at once appropriate to the situation and characteristic of the author, the '*improbi Phaedri*' of Martial. Compare the song that the mad Ophelia sings: 'Let in the *maid* that out a *maid* | Never departed more'. It was however an expression that our Cardinal-editor would for a very obvious reason remove as profane.¹

Sometimes the offence is that the word employed is not as apt as we could wish; but in a language so poor in synonyms as Latin this should not count for so very much. In III 8. 14 sqq.

'Cotidie' inquit 'speculo uos uti uolo,
tu formam ne corrumpas nequitiae malis,
tu faciem ut istam moribus uincas bonis',

both *malis* and *uincas* have been challenged and more expressive words sought for. *malis*, for which Scheffer would actually substitute *mac(u)lis*, is defended by the metre and the correspondence of *bonis*. For *uincas* Bentley proposed *penses* and Triller *pingas*, accepted by M. Havet. But *uincas* is not more than legitimately vague and 'to defeat your (unlovely) face' may well be understood of nullifying or neutralizing its unloveliness. Elsewhere in Latin poets we find *uincere* used where we expect a more distinctive word, as in Tibullus I 8. 55 '*poterat custodia uinci*' where *decipi* is meant and Propertius IV 6. 68 '*una decem uicit missa sagitta rates*' ('put out of action', we might say).

pati is used in a similar way and would certainly have been attacked in III epil. 26 '*decerne quod religio, quod patitur fides | et gratulari me fac iudicio tuo*' if any convenient verb with a more positive signification could have been found. But here again Phaedrus does not stand alone. Compare Lucan 4. 352

¹ What he would take upon himself to do in the interests of religious decorum may be seen from III 10. 39, where '*a diuo Augusto tunc petiere iudices*' is transformed into '*pontificem maximum rogarunt*'.

'tradimus Hesperias gentes, aperimus Eoas | securumque orbis *patimur* post terga relictī', 9. 365 'abstulit arboribus pretium nemorique laborem | Alcides *passusque* inopes sine pondere ramos | rettulit Argolico fulgentia poma tyranno'. To say a man 'permits' a direct effect of his own action, strikes us not unnaturally as odd.

cogere in V 5. 34 sq.

adclamat populus scurram multo similis
imitatum et *cogit* rusticum trudi foras

does not mean 'force' but 'would force', 'insists'. It is obvious that the rustic was not ejected after the dénouement. The passage should have been cited in the Thesaurus s. u. in connection with Propertius I 4. 2 and III 11. 42.

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IV.—THE 'THOUGHT' MOTIF OF WISDOM VERSUS FOLLY IN GREEK TRAGEDY.

In a recent paper¹ Professor Knapp calls attention, with detailed analysis, to a recurrent *φρήν* or *φρονεῖν* motif in the *Antigone* of Sophocles. The author affirms that a consideration of this motif in the play will show that Sophocles meant to represent *Antigone* as wholly sinless and *Creon* as completely in the wrong; furthermore, that a subtitle to the play might well be *Φρόνημα* vs. *Ἀφροσύνη*, Right Thinking versus Wrong Thinking, Wisdom versus Folly, or, True Wisdom is it to obey God rather than Man. At the conclusion of the paper there is this foot-note: 'Some reader may ask whether such a recurrent motif can be found in any other Greek play. To my mind it matters little or nothing whether one can or can not be found'.

Professor Knapp's paper is interesting and excellently presented. Certainly, as he points out, the *Antigone* fairly bristles with variations of this 'Think', 'Think' motif. It is, I think, unquestionably true that by emphasizing this note the poet assists us to a complete realization of the foolish Wrong Thinking of the stubborn and narrow-minded *Creon* and the sublime True Wisdom of the pious and martyred *Antigone*.²

¹ A. J. P. 37, 300-315. <Cf. A. J. P. 38, 337.—B. L. G.>

² The writer sees peculiar import where little or none exists, in my opinion, in the following lines: 169, 298, 762, 767, 768.

I do not agree with Professor Knapp in his assertion of the significance of lines 388 ff. He adds: "Not even so keen a critic as Jebb noticed that in these words of the Guard ('O King, naught is there against which man should take his oath, for after-thought belies his first intent') Sophocles forestalled (summed up) the outcome of the play". I do not believe that the poet consciously or purposely has the Guard prognosticate the *dénouement* of the play with *Creon's* downfall. The Guard merely refers to his own experience: 'I vowed I should not be here again,—yet here I am'. But he prefaces his statement with a gnomic utterance (characteristic of his kind in Greek tragedy) showing that, after all, his own experience perhaps is but that of all mankind. *βροτοῖσιν οὐδέν ἐστ' ἀπώμωτον*, which *sententia* had previously been affirmed by *Archilochus*, fr. 76.

The peculiar significance of the occurrence of this motif, however, may be over-emphasized. In any portrayal of a clash of wills or purposes is it not natural, even inevitable, that this issue of Wisdom versus Folly (together with their concomitant attributes) be dwelt upon¹? And in Greek tragedy is this not a fundamental religious tenet, that 'True Wisdom is it to obey God rather than Man'? If so, we should expect to find this motif of the Antigone of frequent occurrence in other Greek tragedies. And, as a matter of fact, it is often found. For the purpose of illustration I shall take the Electra and the Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles and the Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus.

Let us consider first the Electra, and in particular the scenes between the sisters Electra and Chrysothemis in which the motif is of especial frequency. This is likewise the case in the Antigone in the dialogue between the sisters, Antigone and Ismene, where this note is much in evidence. The situations in the two plays are, to be sure, very similar. In both cases the stronger and more determined sister strives to win over the weaker to participation in a hazardous, although righteous, deed of daring. To the weaker sister, Ismene, Antigone's proposal to bury the corpse of Polyneices contrary to the edict of the king is, indeed, Folly, while to Chrysothemis, Electra's stern resolve herself to slay Aegisthus seems Unwisdom which wellnigh approaches insanity.²

¹ See end of paper for elaboration of this point.

² And yet there is no doubt that the poet intended us to see and believe that Electra was in the right so far as the moral issue is concerned. Chrysothemis herself admits the piety of the proposed deed, and the justification for it, but excuses herself from active participation in it because of her timid nature. Cf. 332 ff., especially 338: 'Nevertheless *right* is on the side of thy choice, not of that which I advise'. With this, Ismene's similar excuse when she refuses aid to her sister is to be compared: 'I, asking the Spirits Infernal to pardon, seeing that force is put on me herein (*ὡς βιάζομαι τάδε*), will hearken to our rulers'.

Likewise in the Antigone the poet unquestionably means us to feel the moral righteousness of the heroine's cause. This is not to say, however, that it is possible, or even tolerable, according to the Greek conception, for any hero of Greek tragedy to be *wholly* in the right or *wholly* in the wrong in respect to *all* their impulses and acts. This last question inevitably suggests the well-known passage in the Poetics

A brief statement (for lengthy discussion is not needed) of the pertinent lines in the *Electra* in which the motif is bandied back and forth follows. Chrysothemis dilates (328-340) on the necessity for prudence, which she herself observes, but which is disregarded by her foolish sister. *Electra* scornfully

(1453a) and the meaning of *ἀμαρτία* in Aristotle's definition of the tragic hero where he says: "A thoroughly good and just man (*ἐπικεῖς*) must not be seen passing from happiness to misery; this is not fear-inspiring or piteous, but simply odious (*μιαρόν*) to us. . . . Nor, on the other hand, should an extremely bad man be seen falling from happiness into misery; such a story may arouse the human feeling in us, but it will not arouse us to either pity or fear. There remains the intermediate kind of personage, a person *not preeminently virtuous and just*, whose misfortune, however, is brought upon him not by vice and depravity but δι' ἀμαρτίαν τινά".

The study of the character and conduct of heroes in Greek tragedy and Aristotle's own characterization of the tragic hero, ὁ μὲν δὲ ἀρετῇ διαφέρων καὶ δικαιοσύνη, influence me to concur with Butcher in his interpretation of *ἀμαρτία* (pp. 317 ff.: "*ἀμαρτία* is an elastic term not to be delimited precisely. It refers to a single great error, whether morally culpable or not") and to disagree with Bywater (note in ed. of *Poetics*, p. 215) and his supporter, van Braam (*Clas. Quart.* 1912). Bywater says: "It is strange that the *ἀμαρτία* of which Aristotle is speaking, should have been taken by Tumlriz and others to mean not an error of judgement, but some ethical fault or infirmity of character. The Sophoclean Oedipus is a man of hasty temper but his *ἀμαρτία* was not in that, but in the 'great mistake' he made, when he became unwittingly the slayer of his own father". But Oedipus slew his father in sudden and bitter anger as he himself tells the story (*O. T.* 807).¹ This impetuous impulsiveness of the hero, which at times approaches folly, is in evidence throughout the play (as is shown later in this paper) and it is this same blind impulsiveness which leads him to put out his own eyes.

Now in what respect is Antigone not altogether *ἐπικεῖς*, and what is the 'error', or 'shortcoming', or 'tragic flaw' of the heroine, in the Aristotelian sense, which prevents the spectator from regarding her unhappy fate as *intolerably μισρόν* (revolting or offensive)? The flaw is imprudence in the extreme and rashness which, although admirably heroic, leads her not only to the bold accomplishment of the legally forbidden, though pious act, but even influences her to commit suicide. As the Chorus says (875): "Thy self-willed temper hath wrought thy ruin". Even Jebb says (*Intro.* p. xxii): "Sophocles has been content to make Antigone merely a nobly heroic woman, not a being exempt from human passion and human weakness". Furthermore, from the Greek view-point, in his discussion of the *ethos* of the Agents, Aristotle affirms (1454a): "The Agent must be true to type. There is, for

¹ Hardly an unbiased interpretation of the passage.—C. W. E. M.

brands such prudence as cowardice (341 ff.),¹ 'Then take thy choice, to be imprudent (*φρονεῖν κακῶς*); or prudent (*φρονοῦσα*), but forgetful of thy friends. I covet not such privilege as thine,—nor wouldst thou, wert thou wise (*σώφρων γ' οὔσα*)'. Chr. prophesies dread punishment for Electra: 'Do not blame me hereafter, when the blow hath fallen, now is the time *ἐν καλῷ φρονεῖν*'. El. prays that the blow may fall quickly. Chr. protests (390): 'Where are thy wits (*ποῦ ποτ' εἰ φρενῶν*;)?'² El. complains of her unhappy life. Chr. replies (394) that it might be happy if El. could only learn to be prudent (*εὖ φρονεῖν*) and adds (398): 'Tis well not to fall by folly (*ἐξ ἀβουλίας*)'. Chr. (402): 'Wilt thou not take my counsel?' El. (403) 'No, verily, long may it be before I am so foolish (*νοῦ κενή*)'.³ Again Chr. implores (429): 'Hearken to me, and be not ruined by folly (*ἀβουλία πεσεῖν*)!'⁴ El. urges Chr.

example, a type of manly valor; but it is not appropriate in a female Agent to be manly (*ἀνδρεία*)". It is to be noted that throughout the play, Antigone is rebuked for this culpable rashness (for her 'hot heart for chilling deeds') which makes her indifferent to all consequences, and for being swayed by manly, valorous impulses. Note especially in Ismene's speech in the very beginning of the play (61-64): "Nay, we must remember, first, that we were born women, as who should not strive with men; next, that we are ruled of the stronger, so that we must obey in these things, and in things yet sorer". Further, in a series of passages Creon emphasizes the odium of Antigone's assumption of masculinity and that it is unthinkable that he, a man and a king, should be disobeyed and worsted by a woman; cf. 484-5; 525; 579; 678-80.

I do not wish to be misunderstood as saying that Antigone, because of her impetuous rashness, and Oedipus, impulsive and prone to gusts of wrath, actually deserved the awful doom that fell upon them. As Butcher says (p. 309): "Nothing but a misplaced ingenuity, or a resolve at all costs to import a moral lesson into the drama can discover in Antigone any fault or failing which entailed on her suffering as its due penalty". But the fact remains that from the Aristotelian viewpoint Antigone, Oedipus, Prometheus, and Agamemnon are not entirely *ἐπιεικεῖς*. They have frailties which are human like our own; hence they are 'sympathetic characters' and *ἔλεος καὶ φόβος* are aroused in the audience which witnesses their misfortunes. On the tragic *ἀμαρτία*, see Cooper, ed. of the Poetics, p. 41, for an excellent note.

¹ Trans. of Soph. are, in part, by Jebb.

² Cf. Ism. to Ant. (42): *ποῦ γνώμης ποτ' εἰ*;

³ Cf. Ism. to Ant. (68).

⁴ Cf. Ant. to Ism. (95): 'But leave me and my folly (*δυσβουλία*)'.

at least not to place Clytaemnestra's offerings on Agamemnon's tomb and the Chorus concludes this scene with the injunction to Chr. to obey El. in this, 'εἰ σωφρονήσεις'.¹

Later in the play, after the news of Orestes' fictitious death has been reported, Electra again importunes Chrysothemis for help in the slaying of Aegisthus. In this scene (following the request in 990-1057) the motif recurs again and again. The key-note is struck by the Chorus (990) urging forethought (προμηθία). Chr. assents (993): 'Yea, and before she spoke, were she blest with a sound mind (φρενῶν μὴ κακῶν) she would have remembered caution'. 'Do thou learn prudence (νοῦν σχές)'. Again the Chorus side with Chr. warning El. thus (1015-16): 'Hearken, there is no better gain for mortals to win than foresight (προνοίας) and νοῦ σοφοῦ'. El. to Chr. (1027): 'I admire thy prudence (τοῦ νοῦ); thy cowardice I hate'. Chr. (1036): 'I am thinking for thy good (προμηθίας δὲ σοῦ)'. El. 'Must I follow thy rule of right'? Chr. (1038): 'When thou art wise (εὖ φρονῇς), then thou shalt be our guide'. El. (1047): 'Nothing is more hateful than bad counsel'. Chr.: 'Thou seemest to agree (φρονεῖν) with nothing that I urge'. And finally in the concluding lines of this scene: El. (1052): 'Nay, go within, never will I follow thee. It were great folly (πολλῆς ἀνοίας) even to attempt an idle quest'.² Chr. (1055): 'Nay, if thou art wise (φρονεῖν) in thine own eyes, be such wisdom thine (φρόνει τοιαῦθ)'.

Let us now turn to the Oedipus Tyrannus. In this powerful and profoundly impressive drama the hero, Oedipus, attains to the full revelation of his unhappy situation and meets with the fulfilment of his doom not merely as a helpless victim of Fate but through the agency of his own impetuous Folly, stubborn Self-will and Wrong Thinking. This infirmity of an essentially noble mind is repeatedly harped upon, first by the soothsayer Teiresias, and later by Creon.

Early in the play Teiresias, summoned by Oedipus, and bidden to reveal the slayer of Laius, exclaims (316) with deep feeling: 'Alas, how dreadful to have Wisdom (φρονεῖν) where it profits not the Wise (φρονούντι)! Contrasted with the absolute wisdom of Teiresias, who is the mouth-piece of God, is

¹ For the τὸ φρονεῖν motif in Clyt. speech to El., see lines 529 and 550.

² Cf. Ant. 68: τὸ γὰρ περισσὰ πράσσειν οὐκ ἔχει νοῦν οὐδένα.

the folly of ignorance of Oedipus which is shortly to be completely revealed.¹ When Teiresias refuses to divulge the identity of the culprit, Oedipus implores (326): 'For the love of the gods, turn not away, if thou hast knowledge (*φρονῶν γε*): all we suppliants implore thee on our knees'. Whereupon Teiresias retorts (328): 'Aye, πάντες γὰρ οὐ φρονεῖτ'. In this phrase, οὐ φρονεῖτ', there is double meaning, I think. Not merely does Teiresias refer to the ignorance of Oedipus and the other suppliants as to the real situation, but especially does he rebuke the unwisdom of Oedipus in seeking to probe the matter.

Creon, having learned of the serious charges brought against him, seeks Oedipus, with upbraidings. Oedipus, exasperated, exclaims (548): 'Explain me not one thing—that thou art not false'. To this Creon replies (549): 'If thou deemest that stubborn self-will without sense (*τὴν αὐθαδίαν*² . . . τοῦ νοῦ *χωρίς*) is a good gift, thou art not wise (*οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονεῖς*)'.³

A further contrast between Creon's conservative and judicial temperament⁴ and Oedipus' impulsiveness is revealed by Creon's significant line (569): 'Where I lack light (*ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ μὴ φρονῶ*), 'tis my wont to be silent'. We may compare also line 589 where Creon affirms that, in the circumstances, he has no yearning to be king, nor 'hath any man who knows how to keep a sober mind (*σωφρονεῖν*)'; likewise line 600 of Creon's defence: 'No mind will become false, if it is wise (*καλῶς φρονῶν*)'. Oedipus' infirmity is further emphasized by the gnomic warning of the Chorus (616): 'The quick in counsel (*φρονεῖν οἱ ταχεῖς*) are not sure'. Compare also 626, where Creon finally accuses Oedipus of lack of sanity (*οὐ γὰρ φρονοῦντά σ' εὖ βλέπω*); and 649, when the Chorus begs Oedi-

¹ Just as the folly and doom of Oedipus are early presaged in the tragedy by the hero's clash with the unerring soothsayer and by the latter's pronouncement so in the Ant. that Creon is to be regarded as clearly in the wrong is evidenced in the clash with Teiresias.

² For *αὐθαδία* the key-word of Aesch. *Prom.* see below.

³ Cf. Oedipus' *tu quoque* (552), *οὐκ εὖ φρονεῖς*.

⁴ Admirable is Jebb's characterization of Creon (Intro. to O. T. xxix), especially felicitous in the light of the present: "It might be said that the Creon of the O. T. embodies a good type of Scottish character, as the Creon of the Ant.—an earlier sketch—is rather of the Prussian type".

pus to come to a sound mind (*πιθοῦ θελήσας φρονήσας τ' ἀναξ, λίσσομαι*), and Creon, grudgingly forgiven, departs with the weighty words: 'I will go my way; thee have I found undiscerning (*πορεύσομαι, σοῦ μὲν τυχὼν ἀγνώτος*).

In the Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus the motif of Folly versus Wisdom, or, in particular, True Wisdom is it to obey God rather than Man, is dominant throughout.¹ This note is struck in the opening lines when the implacable Kratos exultingly pronounces the doom of Prometheus in that the latter must pay the penalty for his disobedience to God for the theft of fire for man. Further, in 85-86:

*ψευδωνύμως σε δαίμονες προμηθεῖα
καλοῦσιν· αὐτὸν γάρ σε δεῖ προμηθεύς.*

The wisdom which underlies obedience and, on the contrary, the wages of a sinful tongue (321) are insisted upon by Oceanus (337), who thus admonishes Prometheus: 'Far better by nature art thou to give sensible advice (*φρενοῦν*) to thy neighbor than to thyself' and exhorts him to repent and give heed (380): 'For words are the physicians of a mood distempered (*ὀργῆς νοσοῦσης*)'. The obdurate Prometheus, however, characterizes (383) Oceanus' proposed intervention as light-witted folly (*κουφόνουν εὐηθίαν*). Oceanus ironically retorts: 'Suffer me to be sick with this sickness (*τῇ νόσῳ νοσεῖν*)² since 'tis best to be wise while seeming the contrary (*εὖ φρονοῦντα μὴ φροεῖν δοκεῖν*).

The key-word of the play of the Prometheus is *αὐθαδία*, i. e., stubborn, self-willed folly.³ The term characterizes that besetting sin of Prometheus which spurred him on to wilful dis-

¹This was not recognized, of course, when it was not known or realized that the P. V. is but one play in a Prometheus trilogy. Then Prom. was naturally regarded as a wise and innocent victim, and Zeus as an ungrateful and heartless tyrant, a conception wholly false to Aesch. religious orthodoxy.

²Cf. Ant. 1050-52:

Τεῖ. ὅσῳ κράτιστον κτημάτων εὐβουλία;
Cr. ὅσῳ περ, οἶμαι, μὴ φροεῖν πλείστη βλάβη.
Τεῖ. ταύτης σὺ μέντοι τῆς νόσου πλήρης ἔφυς.

³Cf. Prom. 64, 79, 436, 907, 964, 1012, 1034. *αὐθαδία* is likewise a characteristic of Medea; cf. Eur. Med. 28-9, 38, 223, 621. Cf. also Ant. 1028.

obedience and bold defiance of Zeus, and which finally brought upon him, as arch-rebel, humiliating and awful punishment. That he is influenced by such a fault is denied by Prometheus (436) and, in fact, in that magnificent speech of defiance against Zeus (907-927) he accuses the *τύραννος θεῶν* of being *αὐθάδῃ φρονῶν* (907).

It is in the dialogue with Hermes that Prometheus is repeatedly censured for his *αὐθαδία* which is opposed to *εὐβουλία*. Thus, in lines 964-5, Hermes admonishes him: 'Truly it was by just such wilful folly (*αὐθαδίσμασιν*) before that thou didst moor thyself to this misfortune'. Again (1000), addressing Prometheus, Hermes exclaims: 'Take heart, O foolish one (*μάταιε*), take heart at last in view of these calamities to think aright (*ὀρθῶς φρονεῖν*)'. For (1012-13) *αὐθαδία* in one that thinks not aright (*φρονοῦντι μὴ καλῶς*) itself by itself has greater strength than naught'. Likewise (1034-5): 'Never think, Prometheus, *αὐθαδία* is better than *εὐβουλία*'. In these 'minatory and monitory' injunctions of Hermes the Chorus concurs (1036-9): 'In our opinion Hermes gives timely counsel; for he bids thee abandon thy *αὐθαδία* and seek wise *εὐβουλία*. O yield! It is disgraceful for the wise to err'. Already had the Chorus in a beautiful and pious prayer (542-4) pointed out Prometheus' infirmity (i. e., *αὐθαδία*) although in different language: 'For in thy self-will (Folly) *ἰδίᾳ γνώμᾳ*, thou honorest mortals o'er much, Prometheus'.

Does not the examination to which we have subjected these three plays reveal the frequency and purpose of this motif as employed by the Greek dramatists? Its exact significance (where it occurs) is determined by the exigency of plot, character, or situation. Thus, *τὸ φρονεῖν* and its variants, in the *Electra* generally have reference to prudence and caution; in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, to wisdom; in the *Prometheus*, to obedience to God. It is true that in the *Antigone* the motif occurs most frequently, now in one sense, now in another. But this is what one might expect in a play where there is contention and clashing of wills and purposes throughout: first, between *Antigone* and *Ismene*; secondly, between *Antigone* and *Creon*; thirdly, between *Creon* and *Haemon*; and fourthly, between *Creon* and *Teiresias*.

Finally, in our consideration of this aspect of our subject,

Aristotle (Poetics, 1450a and b) is of service in his analysis of tragedy and its formative or constitutive elements. "The first essential", he says, "is Plot; second, the Characters; third, the element of *Thought* (ἡ διάνοια), i. e., the power of the Agent to say whatever can be said (τὰ ἐνόντα) or whatever is appropriate to the occasion (τὰ ἀρμόττοντα). Thought is shown in all the Agents say when proving or disproving some particular point, or enunciating some universal proposition. It is that element in the speeches of a drama which is supplied by the study of Politics and the art of Rhetoric". As Bywater says (edit. p. 172) the Agents in a Greek tragedy are personages of importance, great position and lineage; they naturally speak πολιτικῶς (like statesmen), i. e., they show a statesman-like power of saying what is appropriate to the situation before them. They speak also ῥητορικῶς (like rhetors) with something of the rhetor's cleverness in seizing on the various possible points that may be urged on the occasion.

In critical scenes in Greek tragedy in which Agents engage in keen debate or controversy we should expect to find, therefore, as we do find, Aristotle's element of Thought, elaborated and emphasized by what we may designate as the 'Thought' motif; Wisdom versus Folly. Each Agent presents his arguments and defends his position πολιτικῶς καὶ ῥητορικῶς to the best of his ability, so as to show his own Right Thinking and Wisdom and the Wrong Thinking and Folly of his opponent.

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V.—ON AENEAS TACTICUS.

The following brief notes are made to the text of R. Schöne, Leipzig, 1911, giving in addition to chapter and paragraph the reference by lines.

6, 6, l. 215: συναγείρειν for συνιμείρειν of M gives the sense desired and is closer to the tradition than the other emendations suggested.

15, 1, l. 525: ἄν τι ἀγγελθὲν ἢ πυρσευθῇ M. May not Aeneas have used a periphrastic form ἀγγελθὲν ἢ? If so, one of the eta's might easily have dropped out.

18, 1, l. 718: περὶ πέρτασ βαλάνους M, with a space of five letters, indicating a lacuna, just preceding. Read καὶ γὰρ περὶ τὰς βαλάνους. The emphatic connective is appropriate because of the extreme importance which Aeneas attaches to the topic which he here begins to discuss at great length. For καὶ γάρ compare 23, 2, l. 1015.

21, 1, l. 851: καὶ εἰ τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὡς δεῖ ἀφανίζειν M. For εἰ (which is lost in M) B reads ἦ. Delete εἰ, which looks like the remnant of a variant that ran εἰ τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ δεῖ ἀφανίζειν κτλ. (omitting ὡς).

21, 2, ll. 856 ff.: τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐν τῇ Στρατοπεδευτικῇ βίβλῳ γραπτέον ὃν τρόπον δεῖ γενέσθαι, ὀλίγα δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ νῦν δηλώσομεν. It seems clear, from the form of expression used here, that the Στρατοπεδευτικῇ βίβλος was fully planned, though not yet published. The present treatise, therefore, falls about in the middle of Aeneas' military treatises. Others not yet published were the Ναυτικῇ τάξις, part of the first sentence of which follows the present treatise in M, and probably also the Τακτικῇ βίβλος, from which Aelian, 3, 4, quotes Aeneas' definition of tactics. Had the latter work been already published Aeneas could hardly have failed to refer to it, especially in 1, 2, where such a reference would have been most apt.

22, 8, ll. 898 ff. A satisfactory logical connection can be secured here by transposing the clauses καὶ τοὺς ἡμέρας κτλ. and οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτήδειον κτλ. which are of about the same length.

The whole passage is full of obvious corruptions and a couple of *στίχοι* or so may have been changed about.

22, 27, l. 992. Delete *παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ* as a gloss upon *σημεῖον*, reading *τὸν στρατηγόν* with Köchly and Rüstow in the preceding line.

29, 11, l. 1374. For *ὄπλα οἰσιων* M (with an indication of corruption over *ω*) read *πλήθος οἰσυνῶν*. A very considerable quantity of osiers would be needed to supply material for the defensive armor as well as for all the ordinary objects which they were compelled to manufacture during the daytime in order to avoid suspicion. Hercher had already, with good reason, suspected *ὄπλα*.

31, 31, ll. 1574 ff. The use of *τόδε* and the absence of a connective between the two cryptograms make it probable that we have here but a single message. Von Gutschmid saw that the expedition against Dionysius II in 357 B. C. was referred to, and Hermann Schöne's brilliant emendation *κόλος* for *καλός* is extremely apt. The whole represents, therefore, a message which Dio, who went on ahead, may actually have sent to Heraclides who followed him with a larger force of ships and men, and with this supposition the form *Ἡρακλείδας*, the very dialectic form which Dio himself would have used, agrees. For the striking appropriateness of just such a message (with Hermann Schöne's emendation) one might compare the words of Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, V, 513: "Aber mit vollem Recht rechnete Dion, dass die Macht des Herrschers morsch und von ihm selbst unterwühlt sei." It will be remembered that Dio set out with the preposterously small force of 800 men.¹

38, 5, l. 1775: For *παρεῖναι* M read *περαίνειν*.

¹ Since the above was set up I have observed that Hermann Diels (*Abhandl. d. preuss. Akad.*, 1913, no. 3, p. 19) and (independently) Herbert Fischer (*Quaest. Aeneanae*, Dresden, 1914) emend to *κακῶς*. M's archetype had indeed only *KAC*, as Diels points out, but *κακῶς* involves a change even in these letters, while *κόλος* does not. That the message is from Dionysius, as Diels suggests, is unlikely in view of the fact that Heraclides had been exiled by Dionysius, and on reaching Sicily fought against the tyrant, while he could hardly have been suspected of favoring the cause of Dionysius (which in fact he never openly espoused) until after the defeat of Philistus in 356 B. C., but by that time such a message would have lost its appropriateness.

40, I, l. 1834: For ἀλλὰ πασιναπασι M (with indications of corruption over the third and fourth α) read ἄμα (or possibly ἀλλῃ) παντάπασι.

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Aeneas Tacticus 38, 4-5 treats of methods of maintaining the morale of soldiers by judicious praise, appeals, or censure. This last is not to be used in anger (38, 4), and if it be necessary to reprove anyone either for neglect of duty or for disorderly conduct, it should be the wealthy and conspicuous offenders, who are to be selected as more effective warnings. Then follow these words (in Schoene's text): ἐν οἷς καιροῖς ἕκαστα τούτων δεῖ παρῆναι ἐν τοῖς Ἀκούσμασι γέγραπται. For the MS reading παρῆναι Hercher proposed ποιῆν, Koechly and Rüstow the more likely παραινεῖν (doubtless suggested by 38, 4). Neither of these emendations is considered likely by Schoene himself, who merely obelizes the word. Casaubon, on the other hand, retained it and translated the phrase *quibus... temporibus horum unumquodque debeat usurpari*, thus apparently understanding the word as the present infinitive of πάρειμι. But it is, I think, better taken as the second aorist infinitive of παρίημι, in the sense of 'overlook' or 'condone', which well fits the context and to which a good parallel in thought occurs in 26, 8, where Aeneas cautions against excessive endeavors to detect guards sleeping at their posts: οὐ γὰρ συμφέρεи οὕτω διακείμενον τὸ στράτευμα ἔτι ἀθυμότερον καθιστάναι (εἰκὸς δὲ ὅταν εὐρεθῇ αἰσχρόν τι ποιῶν ἀθυμεῖν), ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πρὸς θεραπείαν τε καὶ ἀνάληψιν αὐτῶν τραπέσθαι.

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VI.—ON THE *Κεστοί* OF JULIUS AFRICANUS.

The excerpts from Aeneas Tacticus in the *Κεστοί* of Julius Africanus need many emendations if they are to present a readable text. The latest editor, R. Schoene, in the Teubner text of Aeneas, Leipzig, 1911, though adding greatly to our knowledge of the MS tradition of the excerpts, yet follows, properly enough for his purposes, the example of Hercher in furnishing only a *recensio*, thus treating the text of Africanus as a mere family of MSS containing portions of Aeneas, and accordingly important chiefly as an aid in constituting the text of the latter. If, however, one also desires to know what sense Africanus intended to convey by means of these excerpts, it becomes necessary to have recourse to *emendatio* as well. We therefore offer, as an aid to the study of the text of Africanus, the following conjectures, partly our own and partly those of Boivin (in Thevenot's *Veteres Mathematici*, Paris, 1693, pp. 339-360), for Schoene has not quoted quite as many of the very plausible emendations of Boivin as seem necessary to secure a readable text. We here note, of course, only those conjectures which we should ourselves accept in editing the work. Our own were made before Boivin's notes became available to us, and in several instances we discovered that he had anticipated us. The citations are made by chapter and line from Schoene's edition.

Ch. 48, l. 22. Delete τό before κτήμα.

49, l. 37. Read λανθάνη with Boivin: λανθάνει MSS.

50, l. 70 f. Read καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ γνωσθεῖεν (εἰ being the reading of the text which lay before Boivin):
καὶ ἡ μὲν μὴ ἐγνώσθη MSS.

50, l. 82. Read τούτους: τούτου MSS.

52, l. 105. Read διαιροῦντα: διαιροῦνται MSS.

53, l. 117. Read δεσμόν with Boivin: δεσμών or δεσμῶν MSS.

53, l. 130. Add δέλτους (from Aeneas) after παραγινόμενας.

55, l. 154. Read τοῖς: ἱ MSS.

- 55, l. 155. Read εἴη ἂν οὖν τοῦτο: εἴη οὖν τούτους MSS.
(τοῦτο Boivin).
55, l. 156. Read ἀπάγειν with Boivin: ἐπάγειν MSS.
56a, l. 169 f. Read βουληθῶμεν ἂν, οὕτως ποιήσωμεν: β. οὕτως
ἂν π. MSS.
56a, l. 171. Read ἦ: ἐστίν MSS.
56a, l. 172. Read ἔσω: ἔως MSS.
56a, l. 173. Delete ὥς and read ἦ for ἦ of the MSS.
(ἦ Boivin).
58, l. 201. Add ἐπί before τρία with Boivin.

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VII.—PRAEVARICATIO AND DELIRIUM.

The modern lexicons, Festus, the younger Pliny, and Cicero are not concordant about the precise meaning of *praevaricatio*, and it is more than likely they are all astray. Festus ignores etymology when he equates *praevaricari* and *praetergredi*: Praevaricatores a praetergrediendo sunt vocitati (Harper s. v.); the younger Pliny likewise fails to hit the mark with *praeteritio*: Praevaricatio est transire dicenda; pr. etiam cursim et breviter attingere quae sunt inculcanda, infigenda, repetenda (Ep. 1, 20, 2); Cicero's definition ranks even lower since he fails to account either for the prefix or for the difference of quantity between *vārus* and *vārius*: Praevaricator significat eum qui in contrariis causis quasi varie esse positus videatur (Part. Or. 36, 126).

The statement of the lexicons, that 'ploughing a crooked furrow' is the primitive idea, seems to depend upon the elder Pliny: Arator, nisi incurvus, praevaricatur. Inde tralatum hoc crimen in forum. Ibi utique caveatur ubi inventum est (xviii 19, 49, 179). Yet this passage hardly puts the accepted interpretation beyond doubt. In the ancient writers on agriculture we have as yet failed to find trace of the modern fad of the straight furrow. What Columella insists upon is the necessity of walking in the furrow: Bubulcum per praevaricatum ingredi oportet (2, 2, 25). Pliny may then mean to say: 'The plowman, unless he bends over the plow, cannot walk in the furrow.' As for the enlightening statement that the word was invented in the field and transferred to the forum, two reasons appear for thinking this incorrect, first, the prefix and, second, the deponent form. The rustic term was probably the active verb *varicare*, to straddle, to walk with the feet wide apart, comparable to *claudicare*, to walk with a limp. Both *varicare* and *varus*, the opposite of 'bow-legged', are fairly common: Quintilian says that to walk so is vulgar and disgusting (Inst. 11, 3, 125); Horace explains by *varus* the phrase *distortis cruribus* (Sat. 1, 3, 47); and Varro says of the

legs of dogs *cruribus rectis et potius varis quam vatiis* (R. R. 2, 9, 4); and an A-shaped carpenter's truss is called *vara*.

Pliny does, of course, give us the clue. Some shrewd old farmer like Cato, *vir bonus peritus dicendi*, who would leave his villa of a spring morning to defend a friend before the praetor in a neighboring town, must have coined the term, with a just appreciation of the force of the prefix and the deponent form to stigmatize a course of duplicity deliberately entered upon. The prevaricator is one who by previous arrangement proceeds to 'straddle' the case and coöperate with his adversary. The real lawyers knew very well that the term signified straddling, or rather forestraddling: *Qui praevaricatur ex utraque parte consistit* (Dig. 47, 15, 1; cf. 3, 2, 4).

Confirmatory evidence of the prominence given in Roman thought to the necessity of walking in the furrow is afforded by the words *delirare* and *delirium*, and here it is Pliny again who tells that they denote a straying from the furrow (*lira*) (xviii 20, 49, 180). Note the active *delirare*, like *varicare* and *claudicare*, of an unconscious or involuntary fault as compared with the deponent *praevaricari*, deliberate wrongdoing. The latter belongs to characterizing deponents like *morari* loaf, and *grassari* swagger.

At the same time it may be noted that *lira* probably denoted the line or groove in the plank used with the plumb-line to ascertain the perpendicular. Hence Ausonius: *nil ut deliret amussis* (Idyll. 16, 11; also in Oxford text of Appendix Vergiliana, *Vir Bonus*). The plumb-line must have been extremely familiar to a nation so much given to building and engineering as the Romans; it figured as a symbol of *Necessitas* (Mau-Kelsey Pompeii, p. 391), as also to the Hebrews (Amos 7, 7 ff.). We are rather inclined to think that to many people *delirare* may have meant 'out of plumb', but Pliny's assertion of the rustic connotation cannot be gainsaid, and both may have had currency. However this may be, there can be little doubt that 'to prevaricate' is 'to straddle beforehand'.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

A. MEILLET, *Caractères généraux des Langues Germaniques*.
Librairie Hachette et Cie, Paris 1917. (XVI+222 pp.,
fr. 3, 50).

At various occasions Professor Meillet has given proof of his ability to make the results of comparative philology accessible, in an attractive form, to the public at large.¹ He is, moreover, known to us as an independent scholar, able to contribute new ideas to the subjects chosen. It is accordingly with considerable interest that we take up this little volume.

Judging from the title we might expect a general characterization of the Germanic languages, and, to a certain extent, the scope of the work bears out our expectations. But in attempting to define the general—or we might just as well say, the special—character of the Germanic languages, the author has laid stress primarily on those features in which the Germanic languages show a departure from Indo-European. This is, of course, quite a legitimate proceeding. Yet, if carried on in a one-sided manner, this method may easily lead to a wrong impression, on the part of the reader, as to the character and development of the languages concerned. And I could hardly say that the author has entirely succeeded in avoiding this danger. Upon learning in the course of every chapter how thoroughly the Germanic languages differ from the Indo-Eur. mother tongue, and how the material inherited from I.-Eur. has been used to build up something entirely strange to I.-European, we cannot help getting the impression that the Germanic languages are, in this respect, exceptionally hard sinners, perhaps more so than any other branch of Indo-European.

The author, to be sure, is here and there ready to admit that similar changes may be observed elsewhere in I.-Eur. He, moreover, states expressly that Primitive Germanic had preserved a good many ancient features. At the same time he takes a rather negative attitude toward the Modern Germanic languages, above all toward Modern English. With regard to the latter he sums up his results in the following remarkable statement (p. 217): "En anglais, la prononciation est émi-

¹ I have in mind, among others, his excellent article: *Les nouvelles langues indo-européennes trouvées en Asie centrale*, in the *Revue du Mois*, vol. XIV (Paris, F. Alcan, 1912), pp. 135-152.

nemment singulière, la grammaire est d'un type qui est le plus loin possible du type indo-européen, et le vocabulaire ne laisse presque plus apparaître que bien peu de termes anciens avec leur sens ancien. A l'indo-européen, l'anglais est lié par une continuité historique; mais il n'a presque rien gardé du fonds indo-européen." This verdict is in keeping with a passage found in the introductory chapter (p. 17): "Rien n'est plus éloigné du type indo-européen que l'anglais—ou le danois—d'aujourd'hui. Si l'on devait, en considérant l'anglais actuel et en oubliant tout le passé, démontrer que l'anglais est une langue indo-européenne, on n'y parviendrait pas." But is the case of the English language really so hopeless, as it appears to Prof. Meillet? Let us for a moment suppose that nothing was known of the previous history of Modern English, and that no trace of any other Germanic language had been preserved. Let us further suppose that our knowledge of Modern English was confined to the numerals from *one* to *ten*, to the words of relationship, *father*, *mother*, *brother*, *son*, *daughter*, and to the pronominal forms *I*, *me*, *thou*, *thee*. I have no doubt that these few words would be quite sufficient to prove conclusively that English is an Indo-European language. These very words, moreover, might be used in support of the contention that in certain respects Modern English has kept nearer to the I.-Eur. foundation than any of the Romance languages or even Latin. Or does the fact that the I.-Eur. words *sūnú-s* 'son' and *dhugh'tér* 'daughter' have been preserved in English, while in Latin (and the Romance languages) we find in their stead the new words *filius* and *filia* (Fr. *fil*s, *fil*le), admit of any other conclusion?

Similar instances are by no means rare. In numerous verbs (e. g. *sing*, *sang*, *sung*; *speak*, *spoke*, *spoken*; *bear*, *bore*, *born*, etc.) English to this day uses ablaut forms, inherited directly—though not, of course, without phonetic or analogical modifications—from Indo-European. In the Romance languages there is hardly any trace left of the I.-Eur. ablaut, and even in Latin the tendency to eliminate the I.-Eur. ablaut—or at best, to restrict it to an exchange of vowels differing only in quantity—is quite obvious.

Not only with regard to Modern English but with regard to the Germanic languages generally the author maintains that, as compared with ancient Indo-European, they represent a new linguistic type. He sets out (p. 18) by stating that the development of the Germanic group has consisted of departing more and more from the I.-Eur. type, up to the point where, as in English or in Danish, almost every trace of this type has disappeared, and where we are confronted with a new linguistic type. Again and again (e. g., pp. 40. 74. 119. 130), Prof. M.

calls our attention to this alleged state of affairs. In a certain sense and to a certain extent we might agree with him, i. e., with the understanding that the same holds true of every other group of the I.-Eur. family, be it Indo-Iranian, or Armenian, or Latin and the Romance languages, Celtic, Slavic, etc. But this is not what the author wants to make out. He goes on calling our attention to the fact that the ancient Teutons were conquerors (e. g., pp. 5. 6. 9. 13. 19. 21. 22). No doubt they were. But no doubt either that in this respect again the character of the Teutons is in keeping with that of the Indo-European races generally. Or were the Indo-Europeans who, starting from the Punjab, subjected to their rule the larger part of the East Indian peninsula, were the ancient Greeks, the Romans, the Gauls anything else than conquerors? Strangely enough, the author does not seem to regard the conquering habit as an essential quality with regard to linguistic conditions except in case of the Teutons. As regards the latter, he proceeds to establish a connection between their departure from the ancient I.-Eur. type and their character as a conquering race. Obviously the theory advocated by Dr. Feist in various articles and books (e. g., *Indogermanen und Germanen*. Halle 1914) has appealed to him. With Feist he is ready to assume that the Germanic group does not represent a strictly I.-Eur. type. With him he maintains that features characteristic of this group were inherited from the language of a non-Indo-European race which yielded to the Teuton conquerors.¹

The chief argument adduced in favor of this theory is the shifting of consonants in Germanic commonly known as 'Grimm's law.' In Prof. Meillet's words (p. 39 seq.): "Un changement qui, comme la mutation consonantique du germanique et de l'arménien, consiste en un changement profond du procédé articulatoire, et en particulier de l'activité de la glotte dont le sujet parlant n'a pas conscience, s'explique naturellement par le fait² qu'une population, en changeant de langue, a

¹ I do not quite succeed in suppressing my doubts with regard to an essential point in the line of argument adopted by Feist and Meillet. On the one hand, we are impressed by the fact that the Teutons were conquerors, and on the other, we are supposed to believe that their language is that of a conquered race, preserving certain characteristic features of the non-Indo-Eur. language spoken previously by this race. Must we assume then that the conquerors have adopted the phonetic habits of the race over which they extended their dominion whereas the latter, on its part, acquired the militant character of the victor? Meillet, to be sure, states (p. 19): "Les conquérants qui ont apporté l'indo-européen n'ont pas été assez nombreux ni assez puissants pour imposer leur manière d'articuler; les gens qu'ils ont conquis, et qui avaient adopté leur langue ont gardé et ont fait prévaloir leur type articulatoire." I am not certain, however, that this explanation is sufficient to remove the contradiction.

² It will be noticed that the *fait* here designates a supposed fact, i. e., a theory.

gardé ses vieilles habitudes articulatoires: la façon de prononcer les occlusives est l'un des faits de prononciation qu'il est le plus mal-aisé de changer." Prof. Meillet here takes it for granted that the 'more precise' pronunciation of the explosives (or 'mutes')—as found e. g. in the Romance and the Slavic languages¹—represents the ancient I.-Eur. type and that the Germanic pronunciation is a later substitute for this type, due to the influence of a non-I.-Eur. language.

He has to admit, however (p. 40), that as far as the Germanic languages are concerned the foreign influence is merely a matter of theory. All he can say in favor of this theory is that a similar development is "indicated by positive facts" for the Armenian language. But even in the case of the Armenian the evidence, as far as I can see, is confined to the fact that the Armenian consonant system is identical with that of the neighboring Caucasian languages. This fact probably admits of more than one explanation.² But even if we had to accept for the Armenian the theory advocated by Prof. Meillet, this would hardly be a sufficient reason for ascribing the Germanic shifting to the influence of a non-Indo-Eur. language.

Nor can I admit that the Romance pronunciation of the explosives has a claim to be regarded as the only genuine I.-Eur. type. Unfortunately we are not in a position to ascertain the exact pronunciation of these consonants in languages like Sanskrit, Old Iranian, ancient Greek and Latin. The field of observation concerning the part played in the method of articulation by the glottis, is essentially confined to the living I.-Eur. languages. Comparing, therefore, the two pronunciations from a merely phonetic point of view, I am inclined to regard the pronunciation with open glottis as the earlier of the two types. The closure of the glottis is necessary for the pronunciation of the vowel following the explosive, but not necessary for the pronunciation of the explosive itself. The closure, accordingly, may be looked at as anticipating the articulation of the follow-

¹ The description of the Slavic and Romance type given by Meillet (p. 36 ff.) is perhaps not quite identical with that found, e. g., in Sievers' *Phonetik* (§§ 364 and 365) or Jespersen's *Lehrbuch der Phonetik* (§ 101). The difference, however, being of little consequence for the present discussion, I shall regard here Meillet's conception as correct.

² Similar to the manner in which modes of dress are found spreading from place to place and from country to country, phonetic habits may migrate from one language to another. A well known instance of this kind is the adoption in German from French of the uvular (in place of the dental) *r* (cp. especially Trautmann, *Die Sprachlaute*, Bonn, 1884-86, p. 294 ff.). If we take into account that the Georgian system of articulation is shared not only by the Armenian but also by the Ossetic language and (according to Schleicher, *Die Sprachen Europas*, Bonn, 1850, p. 27) by certain Tartaric tribes of the Caucasus, the most natural explanation appears to be that in the vicinity of the Caucasus certain fashions of articulation spread—probably at an early date—from tribe to tribe.

ing vowel. If this explanation be correct we may say that the relation between the Germanic type of explosives (the articulation of the explosive unaffected by that of the following vowel) and the Romance type (the glottis contracted for the pronunciation of the vowel during the articulation of the preceding explosive) compares with the difference between a guttural unaffected by the following palatal vowel and a palatal substituted for a former guttural before a palatal vowel. Is it a mere matter of chance then that in both the Romance and Slavic languages the influence of palatal vowels on preceding gutturals (and in languages like Russian even on preceding dentals) is observed in a large measure, whereas most of the Germanic languages hardly show any trace of it?

As stated above, the way in which Prof. Meillet endeavors to explain the facts of the Germanic shifting, is essentially identical with the one suggested by Dr. Feist. We may call this the 'ethnological' or 'ethnographical' theory.¹ There is another theory which may be distinguished from the preceding one by the term 'geographical' theory. Its chief advocate is Heinrich Meyer-Benfey in his important article "Über den Ursprung der Germanischen Lautverschiebung" in *Zeitschr. f. dt. Altertum*, vol. 45 (1901), pp. 101-128. Meyer points out that consonant shifting (in the manner of Grimm's law) is chiefly found in mountain regions. The connection between mountain region and shifting is most obvious in the second Germanic or Old High German shifting. As was shown long ago by W. Braune in his well known article "Zur Kenntnis des Fränkischen" (*P. Br. Beitr.* Vol. 1, p. 1-56), the second shifting started from the Alpine regions in Southern Germany. Here we find it both in the southern Bavarian and the southern Alemannic dialect, in its full force. After leaving the regions of the high mountains it gradually decreases in strength. Already in the northern Bavarian and the northern Alemannic dialect, its effects are less pronounced than in the extreme South. Yet it keeps on extending, with steadily diminishing energy, over part of the area of the Franconian dialects. Traces of the shifting are still to be found as far north as Cologne and its surroundings. But, in this vicinity, having

¹ The originator of the ethnological theory, not with regard to Grimm's law but especially with regard to certain phonetic features of the French language (which he explained as an inheritance from ancient Celtic) is, to my knowledge, the late Italian scholar G. I. Ascoli. See especially his paper: "Ueber die ethnologischen Gründe der Umgestaltung der Sprachen", in the *Verhandlungen des 5. internat. Or.-Kongresses*, II, 2, Berlin, 1882, pp. 279-286; and his *Sprachwissenschaftliche Briefe*, übersetzt v. B. Güterbock, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 15-56 (the latter a translation of an article published originally in the *Rivista di Filologia* in 1881).

reached the plains of Northern Germany, the movement stops.¹ Special stress is to be laid on this second Germanic shifting, because it is taking place as it were before our very eyes and under historical and ethnographic conditions which on the whole are within the range of our knowledge. It will be easily seen, however, that this theory applies not only to High German, but to languages generally in which a similar shifting is found, e. g. Old and Modern Armenian, the Soho language in Southern Africa, etc.

However strange it may appear at the first glance that certain consonant changes should depend on geographical surroundings, the connection is easily understood. The change of media to tenuis and that of tenuis to affricate or aspirate are linked together by a common feature, viz. an increase in the intensity of expiration. As the common cause of both these shiftings we may therefore regard a change in the manner in which breath is used for pronunciation. The habitual use of a larger volume of breath means an increased activity of the lungs. Here we have reached the point where the connection with geographical or climatic conditions is clear, because nobody will deny that residence in the mountains, especially in the high mountains, stimulates the lungs.

An additional remark seems in place with regard to Grimm's law. Says Mr. Meillet (p. 30): "La découverte de ce grand fait [i. e., the Germanic shifting] a été publiée en 1818 par le Danois Rask, en 1822 par l'Allemand Jacob Grimm; le principe a été souvent nommé 'loi de Grimm.'" This statement reads as if Grimm in 1822 had published a discovery made public in 1818 by Rask. If Prof. Meillet had looked up the preface to the second edition of the first volume of Grimm's grammar, published in 1822, he would have found that Grimm there called attention to Rask's work on the origin of the Old Icelandic language and acknowledged his obligation to him with regard to the law of the shifting. He had good reason, however, for not making Rask responsible for the discovery of his (i. e., Grimm's) law. No doubt, Rask had recognized most of the fundamental facts in the first Germanic shifting, and it is proper that the name of the great Danish scholar should be mentioned (as it was mentioned by Grimm) in this connection. Rask's observations, however, are confined to the first Germanic shifting. They took the form of statements concerning the sounds that in most cases correspond in Greek, Latin, etc. to certain Germanic (or, in Rask's terminology, 'Gothic') consonants. Applying to Rask's views a more modern termi-

¹ The familiar distinction between 'High German' and 'Low German' or 'Plattdeutsch' finds its explanation in the development of the second Germanic shifting.

nology, we may perhaps say that he discovered a number of phonetic laws (altho he does not use this term) connected with the first Germanic shifting. Grimm's discovery, on the other hand, is chiefly based on a comparison between the first (or general Germanic) and the second (or High German) shifting. It is the combination of the results gained from the study of these two periods that suggested to him the idea of an inherent connection between the various processes of the shifting. I.-Eur. media is shifted to Germanic tenuis, I.-Eur. tenuis to Germanic aspirate,¹ I.-Eur. aspirate to Germanic media. And again Germanic media to O. H. G. tenuis, Germanic tenuis to O. H. G. aspirate, Germanic aspirate to media. As compared with I.-European, therefore, High German has undergone a double shifting. A possible third shifting² would mean a return of the consonants to their original (I.-Eur.) condition. The shifting as a whole then may be compared to the movement of a revolving chain, or to the circulation of the blood in the body. The various processes, of which the consonant shifting is made up, were accordingly considered by Grimm as fragments or subdivisions of one great law in which the formula T:A:M³ may be used to illustrate the shifting (in a single language) of three different groups of consonants and the result of a double or threefold shifting (in three different languages) of a single group of consonants. This great law—not merely a phonetic law in the ordinary sense, but rather a general formula for the combination of various phonetic laws—was unknown to Rask. Its discovery—though undoubtedly suggested by Rask's observations—is entirely due to Grimm's genius.

One point, however, must not be overlooked. As a formula applicable to more than one language Grimm's law will hold good only if we accept the term 'aspirate' in the broad sense in which it is employed by J. Grimm, i. e., so as to include three or four different classes of consonants, viz. 1) unvoiced aspirates 2) perhaps, voiced aspirates⁴ 3) so-called affricates 4) unvoiced spirants. Another restriction is indicated by the fact that chronologically the shifting, in O. H. G., of the Germanic spirants (= Grimm's 'aspirates') to mediae is separated

¹ On Grimm's use of the term 'aspirate' see below.

² A threefold shifting, implying the reappearance of the I.-Eur. sound, is actually found in certain instances of 'Verner's law', e. g. the medial *t* of High Ger. *Vater* (Lat. *pater*), *Mutter* (Lat. *māter*).

³ This formula includes the two others A:M:T and M:T:A, if we keep in mind that having reached the end we must return to the starting point.

⁴ Cp. with regard to the alleged I.-Eur. voiced aspirates especially the recent article by E. Prokosch: "Die indogerm. media aspirata" in *Modern Philology* XV, 621-628 and XVI, 99-112 (to be continued). Prof. Prokosch in my opinion is right in holding that the alleged voiced aspirates were originally, in all probability, unvoiced spirants.

from the shifting of the Germanic mediae and tenues by a period of several centuries.

Many other facts tend to confirm the impression that the shifting of spirant to media (A: M) takes place independently of that of media to tenuis (M: T) and tenuis to 'aspirate' (T: A). Let us remember, e. g., that in Germanic the shifting A: M is not confined to O. H. G., but is found also in Low German, or rather in all modern Germanic languages except English and Icelandic. Yet in the two latter the old unvoiced spirants have been, to a large extent, replaced by voiced spirants; nor are instances of the shifting A: M unknown to English, e. g., *gold* = Goth. *gulf* or *wild* = Goth. *wilpeis*. Let us not forget either that a similar change is quite common in Latin: *lingua* (Goth. *tuggō*) = **l'nχvā*, *ambo* = Gr. ἀμφώ, *inde* = ἐνθα. Similar examples might be quoted from other languages to which Grimm's law does not otherwise apply. The occurrence then of the shifting A: M (to which I would hardly attempt to apply the geographical theory of phonetic change) in combination with M: T and T: A must probably be explained on the general ground that the shifting of unvoiced spirants (through the intermediate stage of voiced spirants) to 'mediae' belongs to the common linguistic changes.

In this and in other respects the interpretation of 'Grimm's law' remains, to this day, problematic. Not that its existence (in the sense of a general formula, applicable also to languages other than Germanic) could reasonably be doubted. Nor would I maintain that the explanation of the shifting, from a strictly phonetic point of view, is more difficult than that of other phonetic changes. It is the ultimate reasons for the shifting and the connection of the various processes covered by the term 'Grimm's law', both with each other and with features not phonetic, that call for additional elucidation.

Many more instances might be mentioned in which I am obliged to differ from the author. But this would mean, in most cases, criticizing not so much Prof. Meillet's views as the current views in Germanic Philology. To distinguish between the two is not always easy, since the author has nowhere stated—and could not have been expected to state, in a book written for the public at large—to what extent he is reproducing current theories or substituting in their place original views of his own. The plan of his work, moreover, has prevented him from offering reasons *in extenso* for his attitude, even in cases where his own suggestions are of considerable interest.

This applies, f. i., to the discussion (p. 156) of the two different types of j-verbs: Goth. *lag-ji-s*, *lag-ji-þ* and *sok-ei-s*, *sok-ei-þ* or *mikil-ei-s*, *mikil-ei-þ*. The Goth. *-ei* = Germanic *-i* here of the second type is generally regarded as an example of

the general rule that *-ji-* in final syllables is contracted to *i* (= Goth. *ei*) after a long or a dissyllabic stem syllable. Professor Meillet, while admitting that *-ji-* occurs after a short and *-i-* after a long or dissyllabic stem syllable, compares the relation between the two types with that of Lat. *cāpis* to *sāgis* (= Goth. *sōkeis*) and *sepelis*. We have no doubt that the parallel is correct. But the problem is a complicated one, and several questions remain to be settled. In the author's opinion a form like *lagjip* (3d pers. sing.) replaces an earlier type **lagip*.¹ This seems to indicate that at least in the case of *lāgjip: sōkeip* he would set aside the alleged rule referred to above for the contraction of *-ji-* to *-i-*. Is he willing to deny the validity of this rule also in the inflection of the nominal *ja-* stems (e. g. Goth. *harjis: hairdeis*)? The fact that in Germanic the distribution of *-ji-* and *-i-* is regulated by the quantity of the preceding syllable (or, more generally, the condition of the stem syllable), can hardly be denied. What we should like to know is, whether this is a specially Germanic rule or one inherited from an earlier period. "Les deux formes à *-i-* et à *-i-*," says Prof. Meillet, "sont anciennes toutes deux, et le latin les répartit à peu près de même que le germanique." The "à peu près" here must not be overlooked. While in most of the verbs of the Latin fourth conjugation the stem syllable is long, yet verbs with a short stem syllable are by no means rare, e. g., *blatire, ferire, furire, linire, com-pedire, expedire, im-pedire, com-perire, ex-periri, re-perire, pavire, polire, potiri, salire, siure, venire* (leaving aside polysyllabic verbs like *amicire, aperire, operire, sepelire, stabilire*).

The rule then is not so strict in Latin as in Germanic. The Latin and Germanic type in *-i-*, moreover, cannot be separated from the Slavic verbs in *-iti*, the Lithuanian in *-yti*, the Greek denominatives in *ιω* (Lat. *fini-o: fini-s* m. = Gr. *μῆν-ω: μῆν-ι-s*, or *δηρίομαι: δῆρι-s*) and the corresponding Old Ind. verbs in *iyá-* (e. g., *kavī-yá-ti, taviṣī-yá-ti, mahī-yá-ti, sakḥī-yá-ti*).² From this point of view the problem gains a somewhat different aspect, while the points of contact between Latin and Germanic—on which Prof. Meillet has justly laid stress—appear all the more significant.

¹ Forms of the type **lagis*, **lagip* are found in West Germanic (e. g., O. H. G. *legis, legit*), but can hardly be regarded as more ancient than the corresponding Gothic forms in *-jis, -jip*. In W. Germanic the three Gothic types *-i-* (e. g., *nim-i-s*), *-ji-* (e. g., *lag-jī-s*), *-ei-* (e. g., *sōk-ei-s*) have been replaced by the single type *-i-*. That Gothic has preserved the older forms would seem obvious. The combination of the three types in West Germanic is apparently due partly to phonetic development, partly to a blending—by analogy—of various endings. Similarly I would regard Lat. *capis* as a product of the two original types *reg-i-s* and **cap-jī-s*.

² For additional verbs of this type in the RV. see Grassmann's dictionary, col. 1733.

The volume is dedicated to the memory of two of the author's former students who fell victims to the international war. The one is Achille Burgun, the other, Robert Gauthiot whose important contributions to Iranian philology and Indo-European linguistics (e. g., in vol. XVII of the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*) are fresh in our memory and on whom we were accustomed to look as one of the most promising French scholars in the field of comparative philology. I feel certain that the author's grief will be shared by all of us.

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A Grammar of Lepanto Igorot as it is spoken at Bauco. By MORICE VANOVERBERGH, Manila, 1917; $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in.; pp. 10+87 (text) (=Vol. V, Part VI of the Publications of the Division of Ethnology of the Bureau of Science, Manila, P. I.).

This is one of a series of monographs on the languages of the Philippine Islands published by the Philippine Bureau of Science, the most important of which, aside from the present publication, are the following, viz.: Otto Scherer, *The Nabaloi Dialect* (Vol. II, Part II); *The Batan Dialect as a Member of the Philippine Group of Languages* (Vol. V, Part I); C. E. Conant, *F and V in Philippine Languages* (Vol. V, Part II); W. C. Clapp, *A Vocabulary of the Igorot Language as spoken by the Bontok Igorots* (Vol. V, Part III); Margaret P. Waterman, *A Vocabulary of Bontok Stems and their Derivatives* (Vol. V, Part IV); C. W. Elliott, *A Vocabulary and Phrase Book of the Lanao Moro Dialect* (Vol. V, Part V); E. C. Christie, *The Subanuns of Sindagan Bay* (Vol. VI, Part I).

The present work offers a fairly good practical treatment of the elements of the Igorot dialect in question, the exposition of the material being simple and easily followed. Its limitations and imperfections are those which it has in common with most grammars of a practical character, and are fully realized by the author himself, who states in the Introduction that in spite of the imperfect character of the work he feels no hesitation in publishing it that it may be used for comparison with other Igorot dialects, and that it may form a groundwork for further study of this one dialect, concerning which nothing has yet been published. The author promises also, in due course of time, a dictionary and a collection of native songs.

The work is preceded by a very useful note giving the various designations of the Bauco people used by themselves and by the surrounding tribes, and the designations applied to these tribes by the Bauco people.

In Chapter I, "Preliminaries" (=Phonology), the notices of most of the phenomena are quite brief, such important matters as the accent, for example, being dismissed with a comparatively few words, because "although some rules for accent could be made, it is deemed useless, as there would be too many exceptions." The treatment of what the author calls the "hyphen" (=glottal catch), however, is very good. Under the head of reduplication he mentions what might be called a triplicate form, e. g., *dakedakedake* 'very tall' from *dake* 'tall,' a very unusual formation, tho analogons are sometimes found in other languages, e. g., the triple use of קדוש *qādôš* 'holy' in Isaiah 6, 3. The final *n* element which is developed between a word ending in a vowel and a following genitive, and also in some other cases, is syntactical and not phonological in character; it undoubtedly belongs to the class of connective particles called "ligazón" by the Spaniards (English ligature).

In Chapter II the definite articles *san* and *nan* are discussed, but no statement is made as to whether there is any difference in their use; from the examples they would seem to be interchangeable. The particle *sin* also appears to be used as article both in the nominative and in other cases, but the difference between it and the usual article *san*, *nan* is not clearly stated. The statements with regard to the use of one case-form for another, p. 21 (349) top, require further testing; they are probably not true exactly as here given. The article *si*, which is used in many Philippine languages before personal names, has this use also in Bauco, but it is employed moreover as ligature.

In Chapter III the noun both simple and derived is discussed with special attention to the various ways of forming the plural. Chapter IV is devoted to the adjective, of which there are a number of different classes, regard being had in each case to the method of forming comparatives and absolute and relative superlatives. Unfortunately no examples of comparative and superlative forms in complete sentences are given.

The treatment of the various pronouns, which follows in Chapter V, is good, tho the rather complicated matter of the demonstrative pronouns and adjectives should have been made clearer.

Chapter VI, on the numerals, is also good, but fractions are not discussed, nor are the constructions of numerals used as adjectives taken up. Here again examples consisting of complete sentences containing the various numeral forms are in almost all cases lacking. Nouns of relationship with prefix *sin*, e. g., *sin-ina* 'mother and child', should have been treated with

other derivative nouns in Chapter III. Besides the usual series of cardinal numbers cognate with those in the other Philippine languages, two additional series of the numerals 1-10, said to be used by children, are given. A similar additional series of cardinals is mentioned by Noceda in his Tagalog Dictionary (*Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 3^a ed., Manila, 1860) under article *isain* p. 159 (for some discussion of this series cf. my Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar II, Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. XXVIII, 1907, p. 200 n.).

Chapter VII, on the verb, begins with a series of examples illustrating the expression of the ideas "to be" and "to have," but no description of the construction is given. This is followed by a comparatively simple treatment of the verbal system, first a general discussion of forms, tenses, and voices, followed by a discussion, with examples, of the different verbal classes formed by various affirmative particles, and by combinations of such particles, tho no attempt is made to exhibit the verbal system as a whole.

Chapters VIII, IX, X, and XI, which treat adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections, consist chiefly of lists of words, but a fairly good discussion, with examples, of some important categories is given, e. g., of the negative and interrogative adverbs, the ligature *ay*, etc.

The book is furnished with a table of contents by the help of which it is possible to find one's way thru the work without difficulty.

Perhaps the chief point in which the book is lacking, lies in the general meagreness of the examples, and the incomplete character of many of those given. Other defects are the absence of any separate treatment of the connective particles or ligatures, of which there are apparently three, viz., *ay*, *si* and *-n*, which are found discussed under various headings (*ay* under conjunctions, *si* under articles, and *-n* under phonology), and the absence of a sufficient discussion of the use of active and passive constructions.

Tho the author is a Belgian missionary, his English is usually clear and simple; occasionally, however, his native idiom leads him astray. On p. 59 (387) and p. 62 (390) top, he has the expression "although some *be* transitive," and on p. 64 (392) in speaking of verbs that denote pretending to be so and so, he calls them verbs that "indicate *feint*."

The work on the whole is a fairly good specimen of its class, and will furnish a welcome addition to the material in hand for the study of Igorot dialects.

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REPORTS.

RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA, XLVI (1918).

Fascicolo 1.

Le "Fenicie" di Seneca (1-40). Umberto Moricca concludes his study of this play (see p. 97 of these reports). The *Phoenissae*, as already stated, was written by Seneca and by Seneca only. It is not the fragment of one or more tragedies; it is a single play, incomplete only in the sense that Seneca never gave it the last touches. His design, as for example, in the case of the *Hercules Furens*, was to combine and harmonize in a single representation two motives of the Theban legend each one of which had been made the subject of an entire play by the Greek dramatists. Unity of place is broken at v. 363. Seneca, however, does not always observe these laws fixed by tradition. His model was the *Phoenissae* of Euripides, but he also made use of the *Oedipus Rex* and *Oedipus Coloneus* of Sophocles and finally of the *Seven Against Thebes* of Aeschylus.

Il secondo e il terzo libro dell' *Ars Amatoria* (41-77). Concetto Marchesi gives the substance of these two books with running comments. The second book, he rightly thinks, is the most perfect. Marchesi is much impressed by Ovid's story of Icarus. As he well says, Ovid here has related a miracle and a tragedy within the bounds of thirty-five distichs. I may add that I know of no one in all literature who can approach Ovid's ability to tell a great story within small compass. Marchesi thinks that the charming episode of Odysseus and Calypso owes nothing to Philitas. I agree with him. But the question of Philitas like the question of immortality is beyond definite proof in the ordinary sense.

Una citazione Enniana nel "Brutus" di Cicerone (78-80). Remigio Sabbadini discusses at length the famous passage of Ennius relating to Scipio and shows, it seems to me with great probability, that the last line which appears for example in Vahlen as

Flos delibatus populi suadaeque medulla

contains fragments of more than one line and should therefore appear as

Flos delibatus populi
..... Suadai medulla.

Emendamenti a Seneca Ep. II 2(14) (81-89). Achille Beltrami discusses the much bemused sentence which in his own edition (Brescia 1916, p. 46) appears, after the MSS, as *Non damnatur latro, cum occidit*. One other sentence in the same passage he would write as *Sed postea videbimus*, an *sapienti ori opera* (or perhaps an *sapienti oris opera*) perdenda sit. Besides being intelligible this reading has the advantage of being practically the same as that of the MSS.

Per una recensione (90-94). Domenico Bassi, editor of the *Collectio tertia* of the *Herculanean Papyri*, the first volume of which has recently appeared, discusses and answers Terzaghi's criticism of the book (*Rivista indo-greco-italica* I, 362-3).

Curiosità Alliane (95-98). Ettore Stampini returns again to

haec duo dum vixit iuvenes ita rexit amantes,

a line of the inscription, *Dis Manibus Alliae Potestatis* (Riv. XLI, p. 385 f.), which has already been much discussed. He agrees with Castelli (*Alcune osservazioni giuridiche sull' epittaffio di Allia Potestas*, *Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*, XLVII, p. 372) that the line plainly indicates a *ménage à trois*. For a similar situation compare also CIL. VI. 21200 = *Carmina epigraphica*, 973 B.

Stampini's second note is concerned with

Mansit et infamis

in the same inscription. Here and here only *infamis* seems to have no pejorative sense. It simply means 'obscure', *sine fama*. He reviews the considerable literature on the subject and concludes that *infamis* simply had the value of *sine fama* in the two accepted meanings of *fama*, i. e., 'without notoriety' and 'without reputation', with all the meanings which are derived from these two fundamental ideas.

Tibulliana (99-107). Ferruccio Calonghi publishes some results of his collation of the *Codex Vaticanus* 3270 (V) of Tibullus. He succeeds in showing a number of mistakes in the critical apparatus of Baehrens (1878), in clearing up a number of doubtful readings of the first hand (V¹) or of the later hands (V²) and sometimes of discovering the first intention of V¹ under the correction which immediately took place. The article is to be continued.

"Defixiones" Pompeiane (108-111). Remigio Sabbadini takes up one of the *tabulae defixionum* published by Della Corte in the *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* XIII, 1916, pp. 304-6. It was found near a Roman tomb in a Samnite-Roman graveyard and consists of two plates of lead which had been

fastened together by two nails. The text which is fairly complete and of considerable interest is given by Sabbadini together with a commentary. The writer, apparently a woman, directs her curses against one Plematius Hostilis and a woman by the name of Vestilia. The motive appears to have been jealousy. Language and forms indicate a period of composition not later than the second century before Christ, in other words, at least a century earlier than the date of the oldest Latin defixio previously discovered.

A proposito di una nuova edizione del "De vita I. Agricolae" di Tacito (112-124). Pietro Ercole, in connection with a quasi-review of Annibaldi's edition of the Agricola, discusses the text of the Codex Iesi (E) upon which that edition is founded. This Codex was discovered by Annibaldi himself in 1902-3, and since then of course has been discussed at great length. Ercole gives all the references.

Recensioni (125-130).

Note bibliografiche (131-148).

Cenni necrologici (149-150).

Pubblicazioni ricevute dalla Direzione (151-152).

Fascicolo 2.

Pelasgica (153-206). Luigi Pareti supports the Herodotean chronology for the conquest and occupation of Lemnos by Miltiades and his followers in 510 B. C. He then discusses at length the question of the Pelasgi of Lemnos, their stealing of Athenian women at Brauron, the references to the 'Tyrrhenians' of Lemnos and of other eastern regions known as 'Pelasgian', and the date of the Homeric Hymn to Dionysus. His conclusion is that this Hymn is not anterior to the fifth century before Christ, and that it makes no allusion whatever to supposed Tyrrhenians as inhabitants of Lemnos. This removes the only obstacle to his thesis that there never really were any Tyrrhenians in the northern Aegean and that references to them as such are all due to theories of the Pelasgic origin of the Etruscans.

L'uso pleonastico delle congiunzioni copulative latine (207-215). Remigio Sabbadini, apropos of the Acta Andreae et Matthaei, a text of the sixth century recently published by Moricca, gives an interesting discussion of what is generally considered pleonastic use of *et*, *que* and *atque* when preceded by a clause, 1) with a gerundive or participle, 2) a temporal clause, 3) a conditional, 4) causal, or 5) comparative clause. This use is frequent in the text referred to and is common enough in late Latin and in Italian. Sabbadini shows, however, that it goes back to Plautus in Latin and to Homer in Greek. Vergil himself makes a large use of it. But except

from the point of view of a late stage in the evolution of syntax, this usage has no right to be called pleonastic or due to anacoluthon. In the majority of cases, as Sabbadini insists, and I think justly, it is based on parataxis or paratactic usage.

Rileggendo l'Agricola (216-225). Luigi Valmaggi takes up a number of questions connected with the interpretation of 1, 15; 5, 11; 10, 1; 11, 6; 21, 4; 21, 11; 24, 1; 33, 2; 36, 11; and 46, 21. The references are by page and line to Annibaldi's edition.

Tibulliana (226-240). Ferruccio Calonghi concludes his article beginning on p. 99 above.

Salviano e la data del De Gubernatione Dei (241-255). Umberto Moricca. Genseric extended his dominion into Africa in 455 and conquered Sardinia in 461. Salvianus shows his thorough acquaintance with both these events. It follows, therefore, that his De Gubernatione Dei could not have been composed prior to 461. This is Moricca's simple settlement of a question which has been much discussed.

Socrate o Platone? (256-271). Adolfo Levi reviews and discusses Burnet's Greek Philosophy, Part I: Thales to Plato (London, 1914).

Recensioni (272-289).

Rassegna di pubblicazioni periodiche (290-301).

Pubblicazioni ricevute dalla Direzione (302-304).

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

HERMES XLIX (1914), 3 and 4.

Die Hirten auf dem Felde (321-351). J. Geffcken analyses Vergil's Fourth Eclogue to show that, like the adoration of the shepherds in the Mithras legend, it constitutes a parallel to Luke II 8 f. He shows that Vergil depended on Poseidonius, who combined the Mithras legend with Stoic Philosophy, and he believes that P. also influenced the Evangelist.

Der Ursprung der Diktatur (352-368). W. Soltau sifts the evidence produced by F. Bandel and Rosenberg, and shows that the Roman magister populi (also called dictator after the chief official of the Latins) was appointed during the first 150 years of the Republic as military commander on such occasions when the Romans were joined by their Latin allies. The political importance of this office ceased with the end of the Samnite wars. The last important instance of this office occurred 287 B. C.

Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Biographien Plutarchs (369-381). Cl. Lindskog finds traces of the early tradition of Plut. in passages of Polyaeus and Diogenes Laertius. He recommends a judicious eclecticism in determining the text.

Zu dem Menanderpapyrus in Kairo (382-432). Chr. Jensen publishes the results of his reëxamination of this papyrus.

Das Oxyrhynchosblatt der Epitrepontes (433-446). With the aid of a parchment fragm. of the IV century (Oxyrh. Pap. X) C. Robert reconstitutes some scenes of the Epitrepontes, especially vv. 502 ff.

Der Feldzugsbericht des Ptolemaios Euergetes (447-453). U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff discusses the papyrus account of the Syrian campaign of Ptolemy III (cf. Wilcken's Chrestomathy), which has received light from the discovery of the last column. Ptolemy himself refers to Berenice in the words: *εἰσὶλθαμεν πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν*. The relations of Theos to Berenice and Laodice are considered.

Eine vergessene Horazemendation (epod. IV, 16) (454-463). F. Jacoby proposes for Othone contempto, O. contento, which is the reading of the Venice and Milan editions of 1478 and 1477 resp., and defends this nominal abl. abs. against Leo's objection that it would give merely an accessory meaning, a 'late' usage.

Textkritische Untersuchungen zu Senecas Tragödien (464-475). W. Hoffa supplements Düring's conspectus of the MSS of the interpolated A-class with the results of observations made in Italy and Paris, and discusses a number of passages in the Hercules [Furens] and the Troades.

Miscellen: Th. Nöldeke (476-478) defends the spiritus lenis in *Ἀγβάτανα* against G. Hüsing who curiously regards this 'distortion' of the Iranian name in Wilam. Moel. Timotheos as an example of spitefulness of Greek philologists towards everything Persian.—F. W. Hall (478) cites a passage from an Oxford MS, which explains a medieval interpolation after v. 411 of Ovid's Metam. XV (ed. Hugo Magnus).—M. Wellmann (478) emends *ἀφρός* in Philumenus c. 4, 14 (9, 2 W.) to *ἀνθρωπος*.—F. Bechtel (479) emends *Ἀγγενίδας* in Xen. Hell. II 3, 10 to *Ἀγγελίδας*.—G. Wissowa (479-480) considers the eight lines beginning Horace's Sat. I 10 as genuine; but proposes v. 5 *multum puerum* = 'many a lad'.—O. Kern (480) finds that according to the best MSS of the Orphic hymn-book Hipta or Ipta, not Hippa, is the name of the nurse of Sabazius-Bacchus in XLVIII and XLIX.

Anacreontea (481-507). T. Kehrhahn discusses the metrical structure of the first two poems of Anacreon, with especial regard to Hephaestion (p. 68 Consbruch), and concludes that both are fragments. The verses in both were arranged:

3+5+3. Anacreon's poems seem to have been published in five books, and, perhaps, were arranged as Bergk thought: Glyconics, Ionics, Iambics, Trochaics, Elegies, Epigrams. The evidence for the occurrence of Aeolic forms vanishes under a critical examination.

Vergil und Karthago, Dido und Anna (508-537). H. Dessau describes interestingly the growth of the Aeneid in Vergil's mind. The Dido romance is Vergil's own. He quotes with approval Claudius Donatus interpr. Verg. I, p. 6, ed. Georgii.

Untersuchungen zur Quellengeschichte der Kaiser Aurelian bis auf Constantius (538-580). H. Silomon gives an elaborate discussion of the sources for this period. The *de mortibus persecutorum* was written in the time of Julian and as a warning to him (cf. A. J. P. XXXVII 363).

ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ Η ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΣ (581-589). M. Holleaux shows from inscriptions that the governor of Macedonia bore the title *στρατηγός ἀνθύπατος Ῥωμαίων*. The inserted *ῆ* of the *senatus consultum* of the year 112 B. C. is a recognition of the customary abbreviation, the Greeks using the first, the Romans the second term.

Die Rechtsfrage bei der Adoption Hadrians (590-601). St. Brassloff accepts the account of Marius Maximus stating that Trajan, while on his deathbed at Selinus, Cilicia, adopted Hadrian as his successor. The sensational story of Plotina's intrigue (Cassius Dio LXX, 1, 1) is incredible. Trajan acted in accordance with the *ius commune*.

Zu Ciceros Philippischen Reden (602-611). K. Busche emends fourteen passages.

Apuleiusfragmente (612-620). P. Lehmann publishes fragments of the *de herbarum virtutibus* found in Berlin and Hildesheim, which may be dated about 700 A. D. They are probably parts of one MS.

Miscellen: W. Gemoll (621-623) offers emendations to Seneca's *Epist. Mor.*—Fr. Petersen (623-626) restores the British Museum fragments 22 and 60 of the *Hypsipyle*.—Geo. Wissowa (626-629) discusses inscriptions of a certain Gaionas, who was proud of the title *Cistiber*, i. e., one of the *Quinqueviri cis Tiberim*. The *δευνοκρίτης* of one inscription is a synonym, which is proved by the *lex Tappula* (cf. A. J. P. XXVI 474).—J. Kroll (629-632) shows that Vergil's First Eclogue depended on Horace, epode 16, probably Horace's earliest work.—C. Robert (632-636) emends Eur. *Bacch.* 242-3, Paus. I, 24, 7, and Jensen's text of the *Perikeiromene* (Hermes XLIX 480) and partially restores Oxyrh. Pap. 213.

HERMAN LOUIS EBELING.

BRIEF MENTION.

The close of the Civil War was marked by a 'Gott strafe' hatred on both sides. The vanquished were naturally more bitter than the victors, who spared the conquered no humiliation. In these days of real brotherhood sealed by a blood covenant, the memories of those days of defeat, of subjugation, have ceased to flame, though there may be a seed of fire in the bosoms of the few unreconstructed survivors of those days. I have learned to laugh at being cited as a representative of Yankee humour, and yet even Southerners of the younger generation resent the classification of their soldiers as Yanks—synonymous fifty years ago with Huns and Boches of to-day, thanks to Sherman and Sheridan. The vows the men of my time took! No intercourse, business or other, with the hated foe. The Southerner was to wear his hodden gray, he was to have a literature of his own, schoolbooks of his own. No Northern college or university should count among its pupils the children of Confederates. How long did the ban last? Business is business and the resumption of business relations followed hard on the surrender at Appomattox. Southern writers found that they must knock at the doors of Northern editors and Northern publishers, if they were not content with a narrow circle of readers, and after a short time the sons of the alumni of Harvard and of Yale and of Princeton were following in the footsteps of their fathers.

Why this reference in this peaceful Journal to those old, unhappy, far-off things? But those old, unhappy, far-off things have a direct bearing on the studies with which the constituents of the Journal have to do. As for business, that will take care of itself. The 7000 tons of German toys that find no market to-day will be quietly absorbed in less time than the newspapers assume. What concerns American scholars most is their relations to Germany. The childish crusade against the German language may be dismissed as the height of absurdity. It is paralleled by the silliness of that German who proposed to drive the piratical jargon of English into the recesses of the tight little island. But we Americans are idealists, and the Germans as a people have sinned against our ideals and stirred a righteous wrath, which will not subside as soon as the hatred engendered by our Civil War. The ninety-

three professors will be dead and buried and most of them forgotten before American students will flock as they have done in the past to Berlin and Leipzig and Munich. Not content with peaceful penetration which had been eminently successful, the Germans have resorted to rape and murder, arson and pillage in the propagation of their peculiar variety of culture. For two generations German scholarship has dominated the philology of America. The Germans have been our schoolmasters and governors. Our leading scholars, if not trained in Germany, are thoroughly familiar with the German language and German methods. And that despite the insolence and arrogance, the *Allesbesserwissenschaft*, as I have called it, of the Germans, which showed that even in the republic of letters they could not forget their militarism, so that I have considered it one of my duties as an editor to protest against the servility which accepts a German dictum as gospel (A. J. P. XXXVI 241). Truth is truth. ἀρχὴ μεγάλη ἀρετᾶς, ὧνασσ' Ἀλάθεια.

But the time will never come when Europe will not have its legitimate fascination for Americans no matter how well equipped our universities may be, however cosmopolitan their equipment may be—and of course France has the first claim. The French have gone to school to Germany. They have learned what the Germans had to teach them and they have bettered that instruction by adding a grace and finish of their own. I have referred more than once to 'la voix du sang' which I seem to hear in my own veins, and I am thankful for what I have inherited from one Pierre La Noue,¹ that blood to which I attribute what little *esprit gaulois* I have shown, but the blood that Americans have shed in France has a trumpet call, and I am heartily in favor of the movement to send our students to French schools and French universities, if it were only for the mastery of the language. My old friend Sylvester used to say that he could kiss himself when he spoke French. Alas! there are many of us who, in like case, would substitute 'kick' for 'kiss', the kick of the 'vache espagnolle'. A word might be said also for the Low Countries. There are many who would rejoice to see the ancient glories of Louvain revived, and there are good scholars in Belgium. Nor have the Dutch universities lost their hold on the Greek scholar. In

¹In like manner, though not in the same spirit, Henry Adams (*Education of Henry Adams*, p. 19) tells of the 'quarter taint of Maryland blood' that infected his 'pure New England strain'. However, with the same proportion of alien blood, the brood of John Quincy Adams *tutti quanti* were less human than I am French.

1853 I was strongly tempted to spend some time in Holland for the advantages that Leyden offered, and the fluent Latin of our Dutch compeers has an old-fashioned charm that appeals to a conservative. What lover of Aristophanes does not enjoy Van Leeuwen's commentary? And it is pleasant to note that the same scholar has put forth a new edition of his important work on the language of the Greek epos: *Enchiridion Dictionis Epicae*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1918.

Shortly after Masqueray's handsome tribute, not to say unconditional surrender, to German Hellenists (A. J. P. XXXV 109), the Great War broke out, and, stirred by national feeling, the leading scholars of France, with one voice, entered their protest against the long domination of the Germans in the domain of the classics. The cry for the degermanization of the French universities found a ready echo in the popular press, and henceforth German scholarship need expect nothing except keen scrutiny, made all the more keen by memories of German arrogance. A distinguished French scholar has recently put forth a counterblast against the pretensions of Friedrich August Wolf to originality, and the *Nouvelles de France*, a popular weekly, devoted several columns to Victor Bérard's *Un mensonge de la science allemande*. Most of Wolf's most telling points were conveyed from French authors, and M. Terret, a Unitarian Homerist, need not have attacked Wolf as a great heresiarch, need not have exulted over his death in the ancient Phocaea as a judgment of God (A. J. P. XX 89). But saturnine Germany swallows her own children. Wolf has long since lost caste as an original genius even among the Germans. Terret and Bérard have both been engaged in the easy task of tilting against a paper screen, to use a figure of Mommsen's. It is an old story that Wolf owed his great reputation to a diligent practice in Latin composition, which made the *Prolegomena* readable—a rare charm in a German of that day. Renan, in a letter to Berthelot (A. J. P. XXVI 361), deplored the waste of time of which his countrymen were guilty in paying so much attention to style. But I have long held that whatever a man has to say ought to be said in as artistic a form as possible. It is only the sharp arrow that penetrates the joints of the harness.

Reuchlin, I believe, made friends with the malodorous rabbi whom he consorted with day and night for the better acquisition of the holy tongue; and as a rule editors are disposed to treat leniently the authors whom they edit. But there are

exceptions. Some years ago, I noted the hard measure dealt to Fronto by Naber, and I must plead guilty to a similar intolerance. When Martin Farquhar Tupper was at the height of his shortlived popularity Thackeray was asked what he thought of Mr. Tupper. 'I do not think of Mr. Tupper at all' was the response, and I am afraid that when I think of Justin Martyr, it is with a yawn or else with a bitter recollection of the Charlottesville bank that engulfed my honorarium for two years' work. In fact, since 1877 I have seldom opened the *Apologies* or the *Dialogue with Trypho*. Still, Justin is a part of my life, if an arid part, and the other day when the British forces occupied Shechem, I remembered that Justin was a native of Flavia Neapolis. The case of Persius is different, though an antipodal correspondent once wrote me that the frivolities of my edition were well calculated to vex the unhappy soul of that 'prig', that 'coxcomb', that 'stuck-up and feeble poetaster'. But that prig, that coxcomb, and the rest, has left us some telling verses, and his characterization of Horace, whom he imitated so often and so ill, is nearer the truth than Swinburne's sneer, or Tyrrell's withering censure.

I. 116 Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit et admissus circum praecordia ludit.

'Circum praecordia ludit' is a happy phrase, and has come back to me over and over again as I beguiled the tedium of a slow convalescence by reading Shorey's edition of the *Odes*. Of course, it will be said, and justly said, that Horace cannot be understood without a study of his times. But the study is apt to degenerate into such fancies as Mr. Verrall's essay on the *Murena Odes* (A. J. P. VI 497), and when Mr. D'ALTON undertakes in his *Horace and His Age* to reproduce the historical, philosophical and literary background of the Venesian poet, he is in his right, but one could wish that he had shown something of the *vafritia* that characterizes Horace and Mr. D'ALTON's own countryman, Mr. Tyrrell.

Some years ago—to be exact in 1905—I protested against Tennyson's characteristic of Pindar as reported by Palgrave (A. J. P. XXVI, 360):

'On Pindar <Tennyson> once said, "He is a kind of Australian poet; has long tracts of gravel, with immensely large nuggets imbedded." This was in reference to the obscurity and inequality in the *Odes*: a hasty judgment, perhaps, on that colossal genius, if his work be closely studied as a whole.' *Personal Recollections* by F. T. Palgrave, in *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir*. By his Son. New York, 1898. Vol. ii, p. 499. On the same page Palgrave speaks of Tennyson's off-hand translation (one evening) of 'Pindar's great picture of the life of Heaven in the second Olympian'.

A lover and understander of Pindar who has no peer in the range of my acquaintance has written to *Brief Mention* questioning the accuracy of Palgrave's report. One could wish for Tennyson's sake that there were no foundation for such an absurd estimate. There are no long stretches of gravel in Pindar. His enumerations of victories were doubtless nominated in the bond and what music he makes of the golden coins. A better comparison is at hand. When I was a student at Bonn (1852-3) there was on exhibition what purported to be a curiosity—no curiosity perhaps to the student of optics. It consisted of a ring of brilliant colors—a series of splotches without any more form than the dabs of paint on an artist's palette. The showman placed in the centre a cylindrical mirror and on its surface behold! a reproduction of Rubens' Descent from the Cross. To the casual student Pindar may present such a ring of brilliant colours. He who owns the proper mirror will see a symmetrical picture. Or again, the ear often holds a confused sound, holds it for days or weeks, and then suddenly the cloud resolves itself and the meaning becomes clear. That again is Pindar. 'Nuggets' is mere nonsense. Nothing can transcend the exquisite polish of P.'s most famous passages and if, as Landor complains in the character of Aspasia's correspondent, there is too much gold in Pindar, the gold is finely wrought. Tennyson may have been familiar with Pindar, and my correspondent calls attention to a stanza in *The Sailor Boy* which seems to be a reflection of the famous speech of Pelops in the first Olympian.

Fool! he answer'd, death is sure
To those that stay and those that roam,
But I will never more endure
To sit with empty hands at home.

θανεῖν δ' οἷσιν ἀνάγκα, τὰ κέ τις ἀνώνυμον
γῆρας ἐν σκότῳ καθήμενος ἔψοι μάταν,
ἅπαντων καλῶν ἄμμορος,

an heroic commonplace, which heartened many a fighter since like Sarpedon's¹ speech M 322-325.²

I distrust reminiscences of O. i. 50-2 as evidences of Tennyson's love of Pindar and his familiarity with the poet. At all events I have not been at the pains to hunt up Pindaric echoes in Tennyson—a line of study which I leave to my friend Professor Mustard. I am not much concerned to learn

¹ ὦ πέπον, εἰ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φηγόντε
αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλοιμεν ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε
ἔσσεσθ' οὔτε κεν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μαχοίμην
οὔτε κε σὲ στέλλοιμι μάχην ἐς κυδιάνειραν κτέ.

² And be it remembered that the Lycians Sarpedon and Glaukos were the Frenchmen of the Iliad.

upon what meat this or that poet fed. Your true master is not a sneak-thief but a freebooter. By the way, in pursuing my favorite study, the study of indexes, I was amused to find that in an age when men learned Homer by heart, the polymath Plutarch quotes more from the first books of the *Iliad* than from the rest of the Homeric poems. Tennyson resembles Pindar in his exquisite finish, and may have learned something from him in that regard. He embroiders as Pindar embroiders and there is something in the range of his imagery that reminds one of Pindar, but he hasn't the Theban's talons.

Some of the constellations of speech are unaffected by the flood of time, ἄμμοροι . . . Ὠκεανοῖο, others have their rising and setting, and these have a peculiar interest for the student of language. Attempts have been made to trace the progress of culture by means of linguistic markers. The craze was in full blast even when I was a student at Bonn, and one of my comrades had to be sent across the river to the insane asylum because of his infatuation with the problems presented by the etymology of 'son' and 'daughter'. Etymology has addled the pates of many scholars since. But the fortune of words will always be a matter of intense interest to the heirs of Cratylus. No λόγος, no νόμος in Homer. What does that mean? λόγος in Pindar has to be watched—his νόμος τύραννος is hardly the same as Plato's use of it. Some years ago I encountered an unusual word—a word not to be found in the ordinary dictionaries. I came across it in a French novel of the psychological school—syndérèse, a corruption of συντήρησις, the father confessor's equivalent for remorse of conscience. It is based on the familiar effect of introspection, the 'look out not in' of Edward Everett Hale's famous list of 'looks'. I was interested to find the word cropping up in the latest French dictionary—an indication perhaps of the popularity of the psychological novel. It is perhaps also worthy of mention as indicative of churchly influence that Italian and Spanish dictionaries of small pretensions have retained the word. By the way, Hale's 'looks' may possibly be due to a hint in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre II*, 1: 'Die jüngsten legten die Arme kreuzweis über die Brust und blickten fröhlich gen Himmel, die mittlern hielten die Arme auf den Rücken und schauten lächelnd zur Erde, die dritten standen strack und mutig; die Arme niedergesenkt, wendeten sie den Kopf nach der rechten Seite'. The symbolism is afterwards elaborately explained. The first position teaches Ehrfurcht vor dem, was über uns ist; the second, Ehrfurcht vor dem, was unter uns ist; the third position, which is gained as soon as possible, teaches the pupil the obligation of common action with his comrades.

Untoward conditions, unnecessary to specify, made it impossible for me to furnish the usual batch of unconsidered trifles to the *Brief Mention* of the last number of the American Journal of Philology, and so it came about that No. 155 is the only one of the long series in which I have had neither part nor lot. As I consider the various articles, my satisfaction is untroubled by the usual repentance of my own contributions, for I am my own severest critic. I welcome also the prophecy of continued life for the Journal after I have withdrawn from the ranks of workers. I have never had any serious concern about the editorial future of the Journal. I have lived too long and seen too many irreparable losses, followed by incalculable gains. οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἀναρχοὶ ἔσαν was chanted of Protesilaus.¹ I have never ventured to add πόθεόν γε μὲν ἀρχόν. But the responsibility for the publication is another affair. Jean Paul says somewhere that the longest lesson in the Epistles is the one in which St. Paul accords to himself the necessary praise for what he had done and suffered. And if I were as egotistical as the Apostle to the Gentiles, I should not fail to count among my experiences the many troubles I have had in meeting the financial demands of the Journal. A periodical which addresses itself to a limited range of professionals can hardly hope for enthusiastic support, and as I near the end of things I am confronted with business perplexities incident to the war, and when I put out to sea I do not wish my ears to be assailed by muttered curses of printers and clamorous demands of papermakers as they watch my encounter with my pilot. From this worry I have been set free by the liberal action of the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University so that, beginning with the fortieth volume, the Johns Hopkins Press will take over the publication of the Journal, which after this number will have the guarantee of perpetuity supplied by a great institution.

 CORRIGENDUM.

On page 106, line 18, read 'That God doth effect *which* you don't expect.'
B. L. G.

¹ B 703 = 726. Verse 703 refers to Protesilaus. Much more apposite to my case is v. 726 which has to do with Philoktetes—a suggestion I owe to Professor MILLER. The Johns Hopkins Hospital may answer for Lemnos, and the bird-bolts of *Brief Mention* for the arrows of Philoktetes.

CORRESPONDENCE.

By the kindness of the editor and of my colleague, Professor Van Hook, I have been privileged to see, in proof, Professor Van Hook's paper in this issue, and to make some comment upon it. That comment shall be brief.

In the third paragraph from the close of his paper Professor Van Hook says: "It is true that in the *Antigone* the motif occurs most frequently, now in one sense, now in another. But this is what one might expect in a play where there is contention and clashing of wills and purposes throughout: first, between *Antigone* and *Ismene*; secondly, between *Antigone* and *Creon*; thirdly, between *Creon* and *Haemon*; and fourthly, between *Creon* and *Teiresias*". I am impelled to ask, why, then, was it left for me (as I think it was) to call attention to the presence in the *Antigone* of this motif? I have read a good deal, in commentaries and elsewhere, on the play, but nowhere have I seen any hint of the recognition of the presence of this motif in the play. I showed clearly in my paper that, discerning as *Jebb* was, he was wholly blind to this important element of the play.

Had, then, my colleague more clearly emphasized the importance, from this point of view, of my paper, I should have no ground whatever for taking issue with his article. To be the first to note—or at least adequately to emphasize—so important a point in connection with the much studied *Antigone*, and to inspire so good a paper as Professor Van Hook's, is happiness enough for one who has never professed to be a Grecian.

I am not surprised that, on page 393, note 2, Professor Van Hook maintains that I have overemphasized the significance of certain passages. One is apt to find what he looks for; I am, frankly, surprised that my colleague in so few instances questions my interpretations.

I find myself able, also to agree with what he says of *Antigone*, in note 2 to page 394. I see now that I was, perhaps, not as clear as I might have been in my paper. To my saying that to *Sophocles* *Antigone* was wholly in the right, *Creon* wholly in the wrong, I should have added a clear-cut statement to the effect that I limited the saying to the intellectual (and moral) issue that lay between them. I did not touch the matters that Professor Van Hook puts so well in the footnote under consideration. I was, in a sense, not concerned at all

with those matters. Antigone was and is a tragic figure of the sort that life supplies often enough to our contemplation—the figure of one rationally and intellectually right, but wrong, most pitifully wrong, in the manner of defending the intellectually right.

It appears, then, that, with the single exception that, perhaps, I overplayed my hand, my distinguished colleague and I are in hearty accord on an important and interesting point in connection with Greek tragedy.

CHARLES KNAPP.

BARNARD COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

December 6, 1862–December 6, 1918.

As this number goes to press, word is received of the sudden death of one of our most valued contributors, Kirby Flower Smith, Professor of Latin in the Johns Hopkins University. His death is a grievous blow to the cause of classical learning. A host of friends and admirers mourn his loss. But, in the words of one of his favorite poets,

Sunt aliquid Manes: letum non omnia finit.

A more adequate tribute to his life and services is promised for a future issue of this Journal.

C. W. E. MILLER.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-155 W. 25th St., New York, for material furnished.

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Harvard studies in classical philology. V. 29. Camb., Mass., *Harvard University*. Bds., \$1.50.

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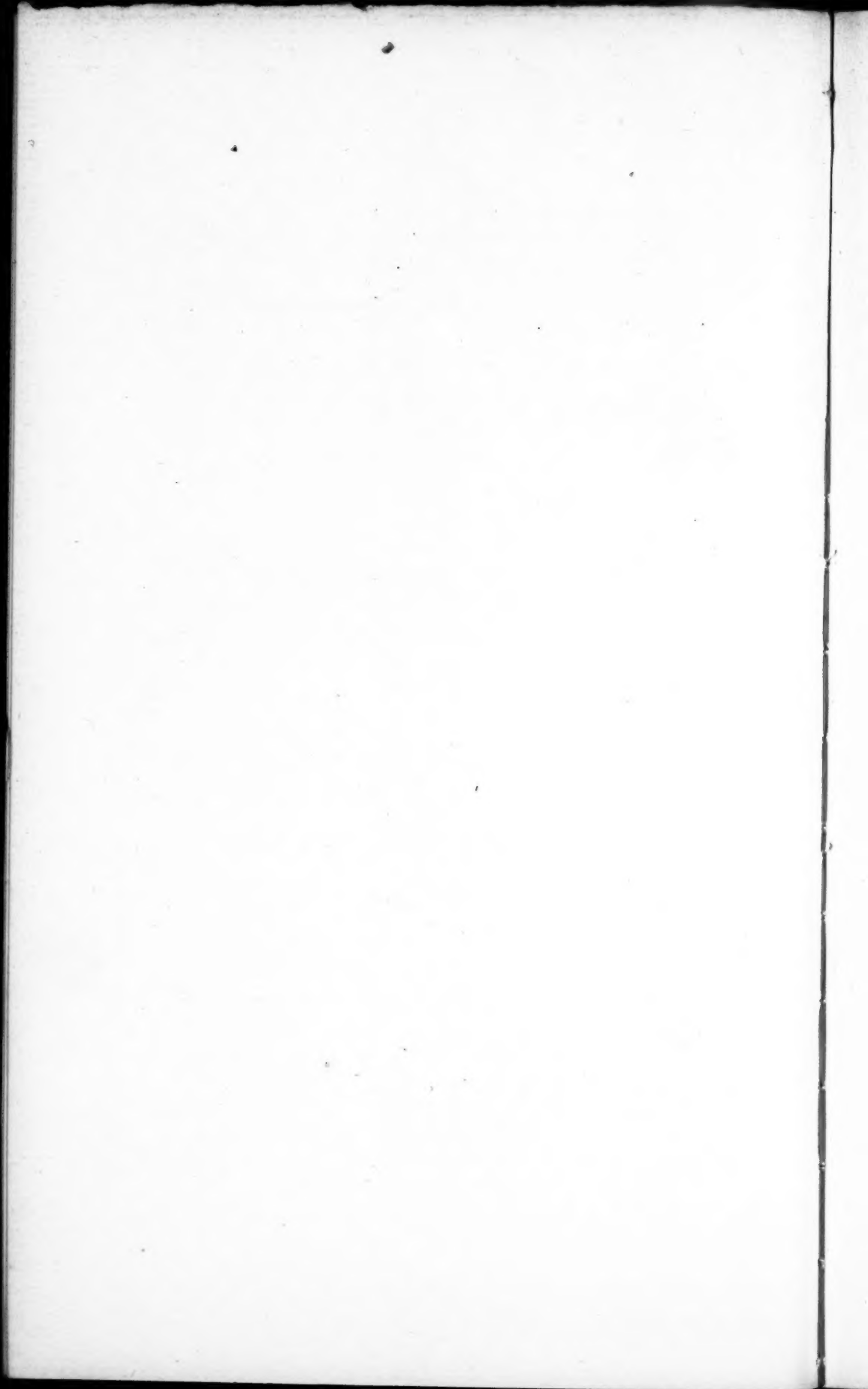
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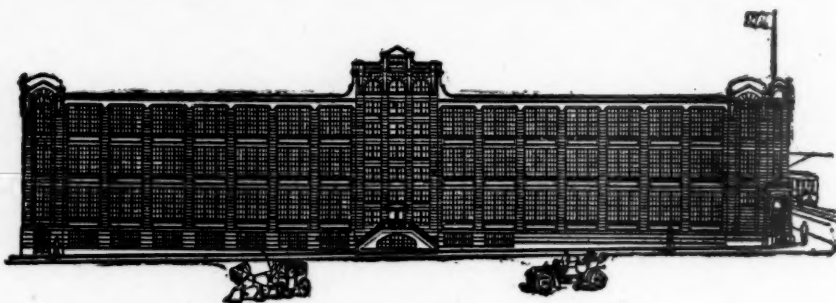
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